John Reed, the Romantic *Sidney Hook*

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts—September 29, 1973, 50 cents

PAPER NEWSPAP
RITTER LIBR PERIODICALS
BALDWIN WALLACE COLL
BEREA OHIO
44017

Gilbert A. Harrison
Walter Lippmann at 84

Alexander M. Bickel
The Tapes, Cox, Nixon

Walter Pincus
Raising the Money to Run

John Osborne
Agnew and Connally

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In all the talk about the energy crisis . . .

Who's thinking of the consumer?

We are. Perhaps because we're consumer-owned, we believe that every discussion concerning ways to solve this most critical problem should begin—and end—with the consumer's interests uppermost in mind.

But somehow, too many of the recommendations for solving the energy problem don't include this simple but overriding consideration. After all, talk about energy and you're talking about almost everything that affects people—jobs, comfort, health care, good food, leisure and recreation.

As long as 13 years ago we were pressing for a national energy policy that would "recognize the needs of consumers . . . recognize the kind of national action required to achieve our great goals."

We still don't have a national energy policy, but we do have an energy crisis—probably the gravest long-range domestic problem America faces, and one of the most complex . . . inextricably involved as it is with every aspect of our economic, social and political structure.

It must, and will, be solved. The question is whether consumers' health, safety and general welfare get the priority consideration they must have. For instance, no one has yet adequately explained just how doubling or tripling fuel prices will ensure plenty of energy, now and in the future—or why it is in the consumer's interest.

As we pitch in to solve this intricate problem, we assure you that America's nearly 1,000 locally owned nonprofit rural electric systems are not going to forget consumers. We can't, and neither can anyone else. In the end, they pay the bills. They have a right to know the facts, to take part in making decisions which affect their lives and their children's lives.

So let's get on with developing a national policy on energy and resources which makes human well-being the benchmark of progress.

America's rural electric systems, today serving more than 20 million consumers in 46 states, were created by people united by their common need for light and power in the countryside. Working together, and backed up by a national program, we solved that power crisis.

America's consumers, working together and with their elected leaders, can solve this one, too.

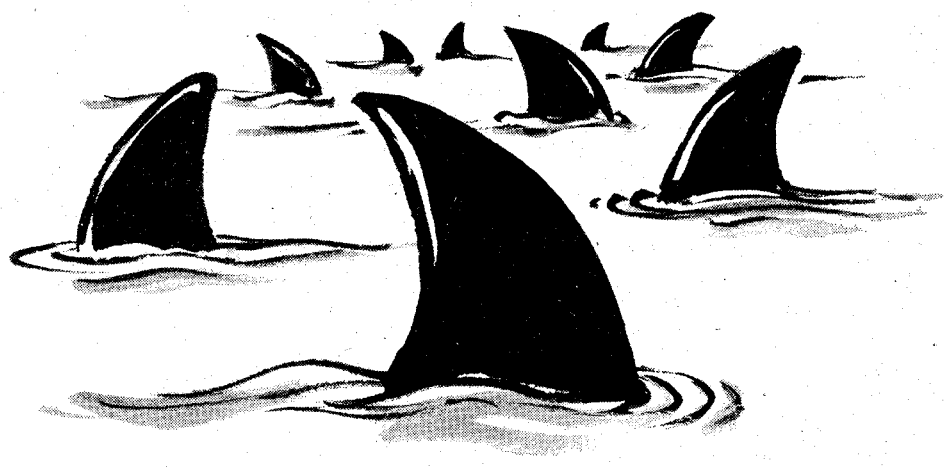
America's Rural Electric Systems

We care . . . we're consumer owned®

National Rural Electric Cooperative Association/2000 Florida Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If you must smoke,



you better learn something about staying alive.

Choose a cigarette with less tar and nicotine.
Don't smoke your cigarette all the way down.
Take fewer draws on each cigarette.
Reduce your inhaling. Smoke fewer cigarettes each day.
And, since there's no such thing as a safe cigarette,
your health is still in danger.
So, stay close to your doctor.
In other words, watch where you're going.
For more help, send for our free booklet.
Write: If you must smoke, Rockville, Md. 20852.

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

This space contributed as a public service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Washington
September 29, 1973

Mouths to Feed

Any reasonable person knows that the world population increase can't continue. Seventy million more people each year. Why, that's the size of East and West Germany! We shrug and say, "They'll starve in a few years—glad I won't be around." But suppose you are around. Suppose time has run out. Suppose we are about to see the greatest calamity in the history of mankind.

It probably depends on the weather. The world's food stock is so low, the margin is so thin, that with bad weather 10 to 30 million people may starve in 1974. It has already started in Africa. There are food riots in India. The UN Food and Agriculture Organization called an emergency meeting on grain in Rome last week. Robert McNamara, head of the World Bank, pleaded for a moral response from the affluent nations at the annual meeting of the bank at Nairobi, Kenya, this week. You can see one effect at the corner supermarket at home in the price of foods. Prices will fall, in time, but they are never coming back again to "normal."

The grab for food in the world protein war comes from two sources, the rise in affluence of the "have" nations and the rise in population of the "have-not" nations. Here's how it works. West Germany, of course, is a "have" nation. Its population has stopped at ZPG (Zero Population Growth). But its food consumption is expanding because its affluence permits it to buy more meat—and meat requires more grain, and grain occupies over 70 percent of the world's crop area. The same thing is true of Japan. Also of Russia; it has land but not enough fresh water. That's why it quietly bought a quarter of our grain crop last year.

For the "have-not" countries the choice is to get more food or starve. Their population doubles every 25 years. There are 3.5 billion people on earth, two billion in the "undeveloped" (have-not) countries.

Robert McNamara, lean, quick, intense—glasses thicker, hair thinner than when he ran Ford Motor Company or worked for LBJ, put the thing on moral grounds. Here's what "absolute poverty" means, he said: one-third to one-half of the two billion people in have-not countries "suffer from hunger or malnutrition"; a quarter of their children die before five; life expectancy is 20 years less than in the affluent world; "they are condemned at birth to an early death."

That isn't all: the gap in income within the have-not lands itself is a lot worse than in the affluent countries, more extreme for example than in the United States. Landlords generally own 50 to 60 percent of the cropland; in Venezuela, 82 percent. "In many countries," McNamara says, "tenants have to hand over to landlords 50 to 60 percent of their crop as rent, and yet in spite of this are faced with the constant threat of eviction."

McNamara, who obviously is making what he regards as the supreme contribution of his life, wants the well-to-do nations to double their aid to the poor countries. If we raise their living standards, he argues, we will automatically bring down their high birth rate. Experience proves that one follows the other. He wants the affluent countries to contribute 0.7 percent of their GNP. For the US that would be about $8 billion a year.

There is probably no country less prepared for what is happening than the United States. The calamity is in two parts: the immediate likely famine in the next 12 months, and the long-range problem of giving moral leadership and dollars to the undeveloped nations to put them on their feet over the long run.

Why should the US help? For the famine, if it develops, it's easy. Even though food is scarce we can spare some to send abroad.

But Fred Bergsten, once at the White House and now at Brookings, gives a grimmer answer in a study, "The Threat from the Third World." It boils down to this: smallpox below decks may spread to the first class, and there always is a chance of mutiny.

Europe and Japan, Bergsten says, have long realized this fact of international life. Not the US. He says, "The US is the least responsive to Third World needs of any industrialized country at this time. US help is small in quantity, and getting smaller. Its quality is declining. If often runs directly counter to the central objectives of the LDCs (Less Developed Countries). It lags far behind the policies of Europe and Japan. The administration and Congress must share in the indictment."

Take these facts: Among 16 nations giving development assistance the US is 15th, measured as a percentage of gross national product. While Europe and Japan have been lowering trade barriers to the poor countries the US has been raising them. The US made a commitment to extend trade preferences but hasn't yet made good. The US hasn't contributed anything to the "soft-loan window" (low interest rates) of the Asian Development Bank. When the UN Security Council invoked sanctions against the racist Rhodesian regime to cut off imports of chrome, the US alone breached it.

The less-developed countries aren't fools. They can be proud and passionate. Some of them have hunger but they also have goods the US needs. The US has six percent of the world's population but uses a third of its energy. Where's it to come from? We know about this winter's possible oil shortage.

Then there's copper: four countries control 80 percent of it. The US needs it. Two countries control 70 percent of world tin exports; four control 50 percent of natural rubber. The Third World has a lot of leverage.

Then again, the US has $23 billion directly invested in the Third World, and another $25 billion loaned. Repudiation or confiscation would be disagreeable. Any number of LDCs can produce enough opium to supply every US addict. These weak countries can also play on the economic disputes between the big nations.

Behind the poverty and hunger of the undeveloped countries lies the unsustainable birth rate. The UN holds a world population conference in 1974. The US is approaching ZPG itself and would be vastly strengthened in its leadership if there were an official statement of American policy like that of the US Commission on Population Growth under John D. Rockefeller III, which Mr. Nixon named and ignores. It recommends control.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 169, No. 12, Issue 3064, September 29, 1973. Published weekly (except the issues of July 14, August 4 and August 25) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone 331-7494. Single copy 50¢; Yearly subscription $15; Foreign $18; Armed Forces personnel or students, $10. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright 1973 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. and additional mailing offices. Indexed in Reader's Guide.*

Contents

11 Comment
Is Solzhenitsyn our Business? Aiding and Abetting, Trapped in the House, Arms and the Superpowers, The Free Lunch, Black (Political) Power, Keeping Your Pension

11 Police in Schools—*Tom Geoghegan*

13 The Tapes, Cox, Nixon—*Alexander M. Bickel*

14 The Nixon Watch: Agnew and Connally —*John Osborne*

16 Raising the Money to Run—*Walter Pincus*

19 Walter Lippmann: A Birthday Greeting —*Gilbert A. Harrison*

22 Theater—*Stanley Kauffmann*

23 Books—Reviews by *Sidney Hook, Reed Whittemore, Gerald Jonas, Charles Davis, Jonathan Yardley*

28 Poem—*Peter Meinke*

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief—Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor—David Sanford
Literary Editor—Doris Grumbach
Associate Editors—John Osborne, Walter Pincus, Stanley Karnow
Staff Writer —Eliot Marshall
Assistant to the Editors—Gwen Somers
Assistant to the Literary Editor—Mary Kurtz
Contributing Editors:
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Donald Canty, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Gerald W. Johnson, Peter J. Ognibene, John Seelye, Melville J. Ulmer, Allen S. Whiting, Paul R. Wieck
Films and Theater—Stanley Kauffmann
West Coast Editor—Peter Barnes
Production Manager—Mary Henninger
Assistant Production Manager—Ellen Cochran Hicks
Publisher—Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager—Elizabeth A. Scanlan
Business Manager—Pearl Wilmer Ramsey
Assistant Business Manager—Constance Cole Twining
New Republic Feature Syndicate—Cherryl Holt
Advertising and Promotion—Ilene Briggin Kahane
Receptionist—Ruby McGowan

Is Solzhenitsyn Our Business?

Americans have every reason to be outraged by the Soviet regime's blatant contempt for freedom as reflected in its persecution of Andrei Sakharov, Zhores Medvedev, Alexander Solzhenitsyn and numbers of other intellectuals who, like the many martyrs of the McCarthy rampage in this country, reject the proposition that dissent and disloyalty to the nation are identical. As the National Academy of Sciences pointed out in its recent protest statement, the Soviet intellectuals are not merely servants of the Kremlin or its creatures, but world figures whose values and achievements are shared by all. Hence their welfare is a concern of all mankind, and it is everyone's right and duty to express anxiety over their fate.

But personal concern is complicated by the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union are slowly, belatedly, moving to lay the foundations for a more normal and stable relationship. The hard question, therefore, is not whether American citizens should express their indignation at the intimidation of Soviet citizens—or remain mute; our self-respect as individuals, if nothing else, commands us to speak out. The hard question is whether the United States government ought to tie cooperation with Moscow to internal changes within the USSR. Should the US, for example, suspend or threaten to suspend the strategic arms limitation talks until Sakharov is permitted to speak freely? Should Washington put the brakes on trade as long as Solzhenitsyn or Soviet Jews are harassed? Should the US hint at the possibility of closing the Soviet consulate in San Francisco unless dissident Russian writers are released from the insane asylums that serve as their prisons? In short to what extent should US policies toward a foreign country be influenced by that country's conduct at home? Can we do business with a police state? If so what business? The question reaches far beyond the immediate one of American attitudes and behavior toward the Soviet Union.

We can now perceive in retrospect the consequences of our self-delusion that the honor and perhaps the security of the United States are bound up with the fate of this or that society. That conceit, mirroring as it did the dreamier, evangelical side of our national character, became the rationale for America's attempt to play world savior. The US pushed the war in Korea beyond prudent limits, built bases from Japan to Morocco, tried to overthrow Castro, and sank into the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mire of Vietnam—all in the name of defending freedom against communist intriguers and aggressors. But the grandiose plans for a Pax Americana went awry, leaving the US with monetary headaches abroad and disenchantment at home with the whole notion of taking any responsibility for what happens in far-off places. Of course American actions did not always match the rhetoric of America's leaders, and it was never clear to peoples under fire whether we were weeping real or crocodile tears. Thus, the US encouraged the rebellion in Hungary but did nothing useful for the Hungarian liberals, and it effectively recognized a Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe when, in August, 1968, it tolerated the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. American administrators have made deals with police states on every continent, with Franco and the Greek colonels and Thieu, and our concern for freedom and decency did not prevent official applause for an anti-communist coup in Indonesia in which several hundred thousand innocent men, women and children were slaughtered. The administration espouses democracy for Latin America, but it greeted its demise in Chile with silence. In sum our fidelity to freedom has been intermittent, inconsistent and frequently futile. Looking back one is inclined to wince at President Kennedy's pledge that "we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

"Prison? This is an asylum, comrade, and that's occupational therapy."

And yet . . . hypocrisy *is* the homage that vice pays to virtue, and we cannot therefore subscribe entirely to Henry Kissinger's implication that foreign relations ought to be guided by *realpolitik* alone. The other day, addressing himself to congressional opposition to most-favored-nation treatment for the Soviet Union as long as Moscow represses its intellectuals and curbs Jewish emigration, Kissinger said that "we will find ourselves massively involved in every country in the world" if the United States tries to transform the "domestic structure" of nations. So "we must proceed on the course on which we are" despite the Soviet crackdown on intellectuals, because a return to the Cold War confrontation with the Kremlin would be far worse than the present détente.

Is that the real choice? Or is Kissinger's hard calculation as flawed as Kennedy's summons to "bear any burden"? As fervently as we wish for reconciliation with adversaries, we also submit that the United States demeans itself and diminishes its international prestige when it turns its back on the norms of civility that are its tradition. Moreover it may not be as difficult or hazardous as the Nixon administration suggests to put pressure on the Kremlin. The Soviet Union depends significantly on the United States for food, which gives the administration some leverage with which to extract at least some concessions from the Russian leaders. That leverage could have been used in last year's wheat deal which amounted to a US giveaway, essentially because the President seemed persuaded that a rapprochment with Moscow was politically beneficial to him, as indeed it was. And economic leverage is not all the US has. Soviet leaders are not insensitive to world opinion. Repeated official as well as private American expressions of disapproval do affect them over a period of time. The administration was successful earlier this year in getting the Russians to ease their restrictions on Jews seeking to emigrate, and it is not implausible to suppose that strong talk combined with shrewd bargaining would also improve the situation of the Soviet intellectuals. In any case as the exiled Soviet physicist Valery Chalidze told *Newsweek* columnist Kermit Lansner, "You will never save anyone by silence." That appears to be Mr. Brezhnev's view as well. For the prospect that he might be accused of meddling in other people's business did not prevent him last week from attacking "the bloody crimes committed by Chilean reactionaries."

This is no call for a revival of the Cold War, or a new crusade to shape the world in the American image, and bargaining for human rights will not always be effective. But at the least, making clear what America represents will serve to remind us of what we are at our best, and that is a gain.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Aiding and Abetting

Congress has made known its intent to keep US forces out of domestic wars in Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam, but it has not been able to convince the Pentagon and State Department to stay out of Southeast Asian politics. The anti-bombing amendment that went into effect on August 15 forbids bombing and shelling in, over or from off the shores of the three countries, but it does not prevent the US from engaging in the kind of "nation building" that drew us into Indochina a decade ago.

The most controversial of the nation building projects sponsored by the Agency for International Development is the Public Safety program. Last year the government spent about $15 million through the Public Safety Bureau to teach police methods to foreigners. AID likes to emphasize the benevolent side of its work, suggesting that it is merely giving friendly governments some two-way radios and a little savvy in tuning them. But the darker side is that in the past this program has provided money and advice for some of the most inhumane police forces in the world. In 1972 the United States found itself supporting "public safety" in Brazil ($137,000), Korea ($17,000), Vietnam ($8.9 million) and the Philippines ($958,000). The rationale is that by helping to bolster domestic order, the US encourages economic growth, which in turn builds a foundation for democracy. In many instances, unfortunately, American help does little more than turn a backward, brutal police into a modern, brutal police.

The Public Safety programs in a few of the most inflamed countries have been phased out. But other US economic aid continues to support "internal security" in Brazil, Greece, Guatemala, Vietnam, Korea and elsewhere, and some congressmen want to end it. One amendment to the foreign aid bill this year by Sen. James Abourezk (D, SD) would eliminate public safety grants: "None of the funds made available to carry out this or any other act . . . shall be used to provide training or advice, or provide any financial support, for police, prisons or other internal security forces of any foreign government." A second Abourezk amendment would cut off military and economic assistance to any country that "practices the internment or imprisonment of that country's citizens for political purposes." Sen. Kennedy has also expressed willingness to sponsor proposals cutting off police aid to foreign countries if the administration does not do it on its own. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has inserted a clause in the aid bill to halt US support for police training and "related programs." Congress has yet to vote on the matter.

There is another form of paramilitary aid not yet dealt with by Congress. A *Manchester Guardian* correspondent reported last week that US Special Forces teams in the Philippines are at work on "civic action" and "professional development" programs, not just well-digging and school-building but training Filipinos in "the use of M-16 rifles, signal equipment and military techniques." The report said "40 Americans in uniform have operated in Zamboanga, on the island of Mindanao—a scene of Moslem insurgency—and in areas of Luzon troubled by guerrillas of the New Peoples' Army, the military arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines." When investigators for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, James Lowenstein and Richard Moore, wrote a report on their visit to the Philippines last year, they did not mention weapons training. They did note that there had been 13 US military exercises in the Philippines in 1972 and 1973, the largest involving 147 personnel. "Most of the exercises," they reported, "were carried out in conjunction with the Philippine Armed Forces so that they, too, received a training benefit." The Pentagon says that Special Forces still work with the Philippine army on exercises, and that in 1971 there was a "country-wide" training program on the use of M-16s. It says the rifle training has stopped.

Any deployment of US armed forces in the Philippines associates the United States with President Marcos. Last September Marcos declared that "there is no doubt in everybody's mind that a state of rebellion exists in the Philippines," and thereupon imposed martial law. He claimed he was the intended victim of a right-wing conspiracy. Since then Marcos has imposed heavy government censorship, closed hostile papers and jailed the leader of the opposition party.

Neither the war powers bill now being written by congressional conferees nor the foreign aid bill contains a prohibition against the use in the Philippines or anywhere else of Green Berets as military advisers or nation builders. The original version of the aid bill provided for the withdrawal of all military assistance groups from foreign countries, and thus would have ended the civic action programs in the Philippines. That clause has been deleted.

Although the Pentagon says it is not "valid" to compare the present use of Green Berets in the Philippines with their use in Vietnam a decade ago, the parallel is there, and the wisdom of hindsight ought to persuade Congress, this time, to lock the barn door before the horse gets loose.

Trapped in the House

Two national politicians who have demonstrated leadership find themselves trapped in semi-anonymity by the carefully structured processes of the House of Representatives, processes that cripple rather than encourage new talent. One is a Republican—Rep. John B. Anderson, Jr. of Illinois, chairman of the House Re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

publican Conference. The other is a Democrat—Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, twice defeated in an attempt to break into his party's upper crust. Both are casting about for a broader forum and both confront the same barrier—a popular incumbent in the Senate whom they have to unseat if they are to get the national prominence that can turn an able unknown into a viable presidential contender. Despite the odds both are nevertheless seriously considering a Senate bid in 1974.

Anderson would have to defeat Sen. Adlai Stevenson III, heir to a famous and respected name in Illinois and himself a powerful vote-getter. Anderson is giving the race what one aide calls "a pretty intense" look since Illinois Attorney General William Scott announced this month he's passing up a chance to take on Stevenson.

Udall's obstacle is as formidable. He has his eye on Barry Goldwater's seat in conservative Arizona. Goldwater's backers feel he has been vindicated on "the war," and his early and outspoken comments on the Watergate affair have been welcomed. It would take something of hurricane force to topple him.

Why take the risk? To Anderson and Udall the answer must seem obvious. Why is Anderson's fellow Republican from Illinois, Sen. Charles Percy, so prominently mentioned as a presidential possibility and Anderson isn't? Has Percy shown more courage, worked harder, been smarter or wiser, fought more battles? To answer "no" does not reflect on Percy's role as a liberal spokesman within the GOP, it is simply a comment on the low visibility of a representative. Or in Udall's case have Senators Mondale or Bayh been more inventive or aggressive in their approach to public issues or more audacious in challenging a leadership that many observers regard as inept? No. But they're senators; they get more TV and newspaper coverage.

Udall and Anderson have found common purpose time and again during their years in the House (both came at about the same time—Anderson winning in the 1960 general election and Udall in a special election the next spring). Right now they're co-sponsoring the Clean Elections Act of 1973, the first bill to come to grips with the prickly question of public financing of primaries: they want the federal government to match small contributions. Over the years both have shown a capacity to think intelligently about matters beyond the parochial interests of their districts (Udall represents Tucson and the surrounding rural area of Arizona, Anderson a rural and small-town district in the fertile farm belt of northern Illinois). Both are effective reformers in a body that isn't bent on reform. Since he arrived in the spring of 1961, Udall has taken on campaign reform, postal reform, procedural reform, population control, strip mining, land use. He challenged Speaker John McCormack in 1969, and in 1971 ran a respectable race for majority leader against the late T. Hale Boggs, though all the major lobbies opposed him—oil, labor, mining, transportation.

Anderson has a comparable record. This year he was a leader, if not the leader, in the fight to open the highway trust fund to mass transit and for the alternative Canadian route for the Alaska pipeline. He worked to modernize the way the House deals with the budget and he opposed his party leaders' impoundment of money appropriated by the Congress. He, along with Udall and southerners such as Rep. Andrew Young (D, Ga.), and Richardson Preyer (D, NC), has sought a solution to the busing controversy that sidesteps a constitutional amendment. He led the 50 to 60 Republicans who broke with the administration on the Cambodian bombing cut-off.

The problem might be called the "Anderson-Udall syndrome," but they share it with dozens of colleagues who've passed through the House over the decades on their way to the Senate or the statehouse. It's not simply a matter of being buried among the 435 in the House. Not everyone is buried. However those who do come to the top after years of anonymous service in the ranks are frequently too old, or too enfeebled by compromise to be national leaders. Which may be why the last and only man to step directly from the House to the White House was James A. Garfield in 1880—and he was a general.

Arms and the Superpowers

Devising a new forum for disarmament talks is one of the tasks of the United Nations General Assembly which opened last week. For the 11-year-old Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD), which began so auspiciously with the promulgation of the partial test ban treaty in 1963, has become a forum without a function. When the 26-nation conference was set up with the US and the Soviet Union as co-chairmen, it often seemed that the goal of the two superpowers was not disarmament but a demonstration of the other side's insincerity. More recently, however, the Soviet and American delegations have become quite clubby, and the other 24 delegations are frustrated supernumeraries. The smaller nations suspect that the Soviet-American condominium is guided by two rules: produce new treaties when national leaders find them most helpful in domestic politics; and don't press the other delegation too hard, since it acts only on instructions from its government and instructions are seldom if ever issued without the approval of the military.

The Limited Test Ban Treaty ought to have pointed the way. Impatient with five years of impasse, President Kennedy in 1963 observed that America and Russia were in agreement on banning test explosions above ground without on-site inspection, because each could verify the other's compliance by his own scien-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tific instrumentation. He suggested putting that agreement in treaty form, and deferring for later consideration the controversial ban on underground tests and its inspection requirements. The Russians quickly assented, and for the first time since a series of disarmament conferences beginning in 1946, a disarmament treaty became a reality. The Limited Test Ban Treaty contributed to a thaw in the Cold War, to cleaner air, and it set up a barrier to the spread of nuclear weapons. But it did not end tests. The US and the Soviet Union developed highly sophisticated and expensive techniques of underground explosions.

Since nuclear testing was regarded as the key to further weapons development, however, it was generally agreed that a cessation of all tests should be the next item on the peace agenda, and when the disarmament conferees returned to Geneva in 1964, all aglow, they expected to complete their task. The co-chairmen had other ideas. Both the US and Soviet delegations had gone as far as the military at home would let them go. What the world needed most, the superpowers then said, was a treaty to prevent nonnuclear nations from acquiring nuclear weapons, the nuclear powers promising never to aid others to obtain such weapons. The idea had merit—a world of five nuclear powers is safer than a world of 25 nuclear powers—and it was extremely appealing to Soviet and American diplomats for it would not stir up their own bureaucracies. The other delegations were persuaded to go along, although some, like Sweden and India, protested all the way.

A Non-Proliferation Treaty was signed and was followed by a ban on the launching of missiles from satellites in orbit, and on stationary ICBMs in the deep seas—two way-out possibilities that were espoused only by a handful of military officers who wore their hats sideways. Then came a convention barring biological weapons. The United States had discovered germ warfare to be as dangerous to the user as to the target—indeed so dangerous and foolhardy that Washington did not wait for the promulgation of the treaty to dispose of its stocks and close its facilities.

Biological weapons and chemical weapons have historically been treated together. But the Pentagon, while willing to accept a ban on biologicals, insisted that chemical weapons were needed "to save American lives in Southeast Asia." Specifically it was concerned about three agents: Napalm, tear gas and defoliants. Though the US succeeded in deleting chemical weapons from what became the biological warfare treaty, it had to agree that a chemical warfare treaty would be put on the conference agenda. So for the last two years the nations have been discussing chemical weapons at Geneva, and the US delegation, still without instructions to proceed (although American troops are almost gone from Southeast Asia) has had to stall.

Meanwhile the test ban issue has again been pushed to the fore by the nonaligned nations. The Russian and American co-chairmen say they are devoted to the idea of a comprehensive test ban, but each points out that there are important preconditions. The Soviets insist that a treaty would be useless without the participation of France and China; the US insists that the treaty will not work without on-site inspection. Neither of these conditions is realizable at present. In fact both superpowers want to do further testing.

The US delegation at Geneva is in a particularly embarrassing position on the issue of chemical weapons because it stands alone. The Soviets have already tabled a chemical proposal; the Americans have objected to it as too comprehensive and too deficient in verification arrangements. The US has presented scientific papers showing that it is extremely difficult to ban the production of chemical weapons, because so many related chemicals are in daily civilian use and factories could be quickly converted. And the US has said that the many advances that have been made in the field of seismic detection have still not eliminated the need for some on-site inspection.

But the other members of the conference are growing impatient. They think that the issues they are discussing are minor and they cannot understand why compromises cannot be made. They are becoming increasingly vocal in their contempt for the rather trivial matters that are put before them, while the arms budgets of the big powers continue to rise. Several sessions during the past summer were adjourned for lack of speakers. On the 10th anniversary of the Limited Test Ban Treaty last month, there was a special commemorative session that was used by some of the leading nonaligned delegates to accuse Washington and Moscow of breaking their pledge to halt all nuclear explosions. They told the co-chairmen that if a comprehensive test ban is not promulgated soon, some of the treaty signers would withdraw from the treaty and begin to build their own nuclear weapons. Ambassador Garcia Robles of Mexico warned that the nuclear powers have less than two years left in which to change their attitude, calling attention to the review conference in 1975 required by the nonproliferation treaty. Mrs. Myrdal said the 10th anniversary of the test ban treaty "must be marked as a day of mourning." These sentiments will be heard again at the UN General Assembly.

The conferees are likewise disturbed by the fact that some major issues related to disarmament have moved to other forums. The strategic arms talks between the US and the USSR, the talks on troop levels in Europe and the talks on European security and cooperation are all separated from the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. When the new head of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Fred Ikle, visited the conference, he said that the delegates should not be jealous of other forums and urged them not to underestimate their importance.

Arms control has been a pressing piece of unfinished

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

business since the end of World War II. A barrier to the development of new weapons, such as a test ban, is an obvious first step. If, for example, the 1963 treaty had really stopped nuclear tests, there would be no problem of ABMs or MIRVs today. The longer progress is delayed, the more difficult control becomes. The structure of the forum is important; it would be extremely useful if China and France could be persuaded to participate. But there is preliminary need to abandon the cynical use of disarmament negotiations to create an appearance of progress when in fact nothing is happening. It would be far better for the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to shut down shop than to continue playing charades.

The Free Lunch

Nutrition programs started by Congress in 1946 to "safeguard the health and well-being of the nation's school children" have grown to the point where about 25 million out of 51 million school children benefit in some manner from the lunch program; 8.8 million needy children receive either free or reduced-price meals. In most schools a hot lunch has become as much a part of the daily routine as reciting the Pledge of Allegiance. Unfortunately the astronomical rise in the cost of food and consequent reduction in surplus agricultural commodities have combined to threaten continuance of the school lunch for many children and have slowed the expansion of the program to schools without it.

In July Senator George McGovern (D, SD), chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, sent telegrams to the school food service directors in each state asking what effect rising food prices and reduced commodities will have on this year's lunch and breakfast programs. The directors of 40 states responded in time to be included in the committee staff's report, "School Food Program Needs," which was released September 13, and they were uniformly pessimistic. All 40 expect commodities to be less available and costs to run considerably higher; 30 states expect the price of lunch to increase five to ten cents for each student. That sounds like a modest increase, but Agriculture Department surveys show that each percentage increase in the price of lunches has generally been matched by an equal percentage of students dropping out of the program. Those who would be priced out would not be poor children who qualify for free or subsidized meals but the children of middle- and lower-middle-income families.

In response the House of Representatives on September 13 passed the National School Lunch and Child Nutrition Act Amendments of 1973 by an impressive margin, 389 to 4. The bill increases the general level of federal support from eight cents per lunch to ten cents, raises reimbursement for free lunches for needy children from 40 to 45 cents and provides permanent authority for the secretary of Agriculture to provide cash grants to the school lunch program whenever Agriculture falls short on commodities. Similar legislation is being sponsored in the Senate by Senators Case, Humphrey and McGovern; no significant opposition is anticipated. Senator Humphrey has introduced a cost of living "escalator clause" that will automatically increase federal support to offset costs.

Black (Political) Power

"What used to be a civil rights movement has become very much a political movement," State Rep. Julian Bond of Georgia says in explaining the goals of the Southern Election Fund (SEF), an Atlanta-based group that supplies money and expertise to Southern blacks as they try to convert their 20 percent of the population in the 11 Southern states from Virginia to Texas into a fair share of the political power. Bond adds: "We're going to change the power base at the lower end."

To do that SEF is concentrating on small towns (under 30,000) and rural areas where blacks are a majority or a near-majority of the voters. Sometimes they align themselves with white liberals. More often, they encourage local blacks to run a full slate of candidates for county or municipal office. They stay out of state and federal elections and urban centers, because they're convinced black candidates already have access to money and political backing at that higher level.

The initial results of the new strategy, adopted in 1972 after a bad year for SEF, are encouraging. Last spring they went into Mississippi's municipal elections and helped elect 56 of the 77 candidates they supported. It cost only $20,000 but they have three new mayors of biracial towns to show for it, bringing the total number of black mayors in that state to seven. In biracial Pace, Miss., the entire black slate—mayor, city clerk, five aldermen—was elected.

Next year will be more important. Reapportionment is expected to add 15 to 20 black members to the 105-member Alabama lower house and five to the state senate. Modest gains in the South Carolina and Georgia legislatures are anticipated—but only if the black vote comes out in rural and small-town areas to back good candidates.

Bond and Yancey Martin, the McGovern aide who now runs SEF's day-to-day operation, have a long-term goal in mind. They know they can't knock off an Eastland or a Talmadge or cozy up to a Wallace. But they can alter the local power base these men must deal with. "In the long run, that's going to make

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a lot of difference in how Eastland behaves," Bond claims. He says it's already noticeable with Talmadge in Georgia.

SEF also can help change the lives of black people in rural and small-town areas of the South. Bond suggests a black mayor can get the garbage collected in the black areas, can see to it that sewers are put in, that streets are paved and that public housing is built. In Greene County, Alabama, now black-controlled, the county commissioners recently snagged the first rural public housing grant, because they went after it. They can even bring in new industry.

SEF has a big job. Right now only 1400 of the roughly 70,000 public officials in the 11 Southern states are black, about two percent or one-tenth of the representation SEF seeks to achieve.

Keeping Your Pension

After six years of trying, the Senate last week passed a bill that will have a major impact on the private pension system in this country, if it becomes law. The pension reform bill (S.4) has been rewritten many times since Sen. Jacob Javits (R, NY) first introduced it, and it has survived increasingly hostile criticism from critics who complain that it doesn't go far enough. Caught between industry lobbyists who prefer that private pensions be left alone, and pressure from "public defenders" like Ralph Nader and law professor Merton Bernstein who advocate radical change, the pension bill seemed in danger of being pulled apart from both ends. However Javits and co-author Sen. Harrison Williams (D, NJ) prepared the way carefully this year. With 53 co-sponsors the bill faced its only serious opponent in Sen. Russell Long (D, La.), chairman of the Finance Committee, who had a different approach. At the last minute, S.4 was changed to accommodate some of his objections, and the final product was so popular that it sailed through without any resistance, 93-0. As HR 4200 it now goes to the House, where the Ways and Means and Labor Committees are writing separate bills.

The Senate would set minimum standards for all pension plans in the country, affecting about 30 million workers and $150 billion in loosely regulated retirement funds. That has never been done before. It would not force any company to offer pensions, but would require those that do to meet federal standards. Any worker 30 years or older would have to be included in the company retirement plan after one year's employment. After five years he or she would be "vested" or guaranteed at least 25 percent of the promised full retirement income; at 10 years that would rise to 50 percent, and at 15 years every worker would be guaranteed his or her full pension. The bill also provides federal insurance to prevent the bankruptcy or sudden termination of pension programs, it requires trustees of pension money to open their books to plan participants, and it allows workers to have their benefits accrue in an independent retirement plan outside the company if they wish.

Patrols and Alarms

Police in Schools

There are few reliable indices of crime in the schools, and none at all of fear. In big urban schools, some teachers are afraid all the time, and others only when someone gets shot or mugged or raped. Some want no police in a school, others, alarmed even to park their cars in the school lot, want six or seven. At one Washington, DC high school with a bad reputation for mayhem, a teacher said: "The atmosphere at this place is chaos, not fear." The chaos is 2000 kids mixing and socializing in the halls—"but people aren't running around corners knifing each other."

In most big cities, there are no special police, like transit police or housing police, coming in off the streets and living with the students. In 1970 the International City Managers Association reported there was "full-time police coverage of selected, or all, public schools" in only 94 cities (seven percent of the cities surveyed, but one-third of the bigger cities). Most police departments, hard-pressed for manpower, don't want their men guarding fire alarms all day. In any case, schools are considered a very tricky beat. Who wants to face a well organized student resistance to an "occupation"? As Jim Kelly of the International Association of Police Chiefs put it, police can enforce the law, but they cannot enforce school discipline. "The policeman has to make a decision whether to arrest or not; principals are in a quite different position. They have a 'parental' authority that police don't have." The police departments insist it is up to school boards to maintain their own order. They want what Kelly calls a "security-safety-education" role in classrooms; they don't want to be "sending guys down in the basement to see who's playing craps." Even in Philadelphia, where Frank L. Rizzo ran on a tough platform of law and order *in* schools, once elected the mayor soon began talking of wanting the police "returned to the streets where they belonged."

Most schools depend on faculty to give up planning periods and take their turn in the halls. That itself creates resentment; teachers dislike police work. In New York City, Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of Teachers, says security has become a bigger issue in his union than salaries or classroom size. In Alexandria, Va., teachers have won a contract

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clause giving them unprecedented power to expel students; the New York City Council has recommended similar powers for teachers there. But unions like the UFT or the United Teachers of Los Angeles prefer that troublemakers be handled by specially hired security personnel, and lots of it.

Security officers don't wear uniforms, carry arms or have arrest powers (they do "cause" arrests to take place sometimes)—and they are proliferating. Los Angeles, which had 15 school security agents in 1965, now has a force of 102; New York's is over 380. Founded in 1966, the International Association of School Security Directors has in its membership 221 school systems. One founder, Joseph Brady, who heads school security in Chicago, says "the most important part of the job is to like kids." Some are quasi-counsellors, former policemen like Brady with a taste for social work; others are abrasive, even hated, and in New York City include a few ex-cons who've been caught contributing to crime themselves.

Principals used to let the buildings-and-grounds department worry about security. Property crime was their concern; they set out to turn schools into forts—"target-harden" them with more locks and fences. School vandalism still costs at least $200 million each year, and occasionally school superintendents threaten to stop replacing glass. But as the *Education USA* report notes this year, the greatest damage is not broken glass but arson and theft. Many insurance companies have cut back their policies to schools.

It is hard to generalize about what security forces do or how well they do it. The function often mentioned is "intelligence work," finding who or what in the school is likely to blow up. But one UFT official says, "they're most successful dealing with the outsiders, staying posted near doors and checking IDs. When the real crime is going on inside the schools, that's another problem." In some districts, "community aides," often parents, help the security officer spot-check for intruders. This surveillance around doors and fire alarms may explain why even in New York City, high school and junior high disruptions may have leveled off. In the elementary schools, the marauders are often kids from the senior schools. Here the big new crime is lunch money extortion, dimes and quarters collected as "protection" by older gangs.

Both Los Angeles and New York report an enormous rise in gang activity. In the Bronx last year, 31 homicides were attributed to teenage gangs; there are not only many more gangs, but they have organized down into the fifth and sixth grades. In each city there is anguished debate whether school, community and juvenile agencies should deal directly with gangs and gang leaders. The UFT, for example, is outraged over the $1 million in "hush money" the Lindsay administration distributed to the gangs last year for renting storefronts and buying pool tables. With the Neighborhood Youth Corps cut out of Mr. Nixon's budget, cities lost 740,000 summer jobs available to kids last year—a disaster enhancing the power of the gangs.

At the moment, however, in most city high schools, the organized quasi-political disruptions of the late '60s are on the wane. "Three years ago," a superintendent in the Boston school system recalls, "we were calling the police all the time. Kids would organize outside, shout up to students inside, set off false alarms, and then when the whole school turned out, they'd scoop out the kids they were looking for." In one school a couple of alarms could go off in a single day. One reason police are called less, a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration official suggests, is that the principals who had to keep resorting to cops aren't around anymore. "It was the ones who learned to coopt the kids who survived."

With militant protest on the decline, one could argue that school crime is attributable to a hard-core, terrorist minority. That is the premise of the Safe Schools Act, introduced in the House by Jonathan Bingham (D, NY), a categorical grant program that would keep school halls patrolled by unarmed security officers, instead of cops or teachers. It is a good cause, and one would think a popular one, if only to protect the federal investment in its other school grants. (One must be wary of the "increases" in crime cited by Bingham, however, since underreporting was much worse than now.) Patrols are not enough for some, though—they want mass expulsion of the "terrorists." *Education USA* quotes "a New York City educator" who believes 80 percent of the crime could be stopped if the schools were "freed" of 4000 or 5000 children. But short-term expulsions only postpone violence, and sometimes they make it worse. A 1970 survey by the Syracuse University Policy Institute, *Disruption in Urban Schools*, states that most schools try to turn discipline problems back to the parents, but the parents of the most disturbed children are punishment-prone, disturbed themselves and often "can brutalize" the child even further.

In the disillusionment with schools generally, none but the brave still say schools can save kids who are planning assault, arson, rape or selling heroin and pills. On the other hand, as Kelly points out, "if you kick them out—where do you kick them to?" In Washington, DC, where school crime has been remarkably well controlled, this is what school officials call "the burning issue." Last August US District Court Judge Joseph C. Waddy handed down a broad decree which, among other things, forbids principals to suspend any student for more than two days without an administrative hearing. Once students are suspended, or even arrested, the court held, DC schools still owe these children, and all children, an education—even an expensive "special education." Moreover at his hearing a student has the right to counsel before a hearing officer *not* in the employ of the school board. The parents

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can appeal directly to the board and require it to give the child a battery of psychological tests and evaluations. The board claims it will be bound by the results of these tests. But these results don't terminate the child's right to a free public education. If necessary his tuition will be paid at special schools in the area where additional supervision will be provided.

Two years ago the UFT's Shanker told a committee of the House of Representatives there might already be too much due process in New York. The result of legal and political leniency, the UFT noted recently, is that reported assaults on teachers climbed from 285 in calendar 1971 to 541 in 1972. Although there were 5700 major crimes last year involving New York school children, there were just 129 suspensions.

A city might rationally feel safer keeping its disturbed children locked up in overcrowded schools. That is the point made in the Syracuse survey: "Throwing disruptive students out of school is likely to increase delinquent behavior in the wider community and to produce a nucleus of very real 'outside agitators' who return to the school building . . . for further disruption." One might consider, for example, San Francisco, where in 1969-70 14,288 suspended students were reported on the loose.

Rather than jail them or turn them loose, Judge Waddy would force schools to spend extra money on abnormal or handicapped children. In Chicago Brady helped pioneer special education schools for the 5000 worst offenders. Teacher-student ratios, instead of the normal 32 to 1, are as low as 12 to 1. "We have found if you can bring the reading and math levels up, they'll usually be OK. We can save most of them, but in this great country of ours, well, there are some no one can save. At least, it gets ringleaders away from the other children," Brady says, "and once you get them all together, they find out they can't all be the ringleaders." For Brady, disruptive behavior is not criminal insanity but a "learning disability" that needs individual attention.

Tom Geoghegan

The Tapes, Cox, Nixon

In its memorandum of September 13 proposing an out-of-court settlement of the case of the President's tapes, the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia remarked that each of the lawyers in the case, Mr. Wright and Mr. Cox, "was selected for his position, directly or indirectly, by the Chief Executive himself." It seemed all the more reasonable, therefore, that the Chief Executive should, in one or another fashion, let the lawyers go over the tapes together and sort out what should go to the grand jury and what not. It is, more or less, all in the family. So it is, more or less. That fact has been lurking in the case all along. It has not drawn much attention, but may yet prove decisive in the President's favor.

Special Prosecutor Cox is not only the President's adversary, he is also the President's subordinate. Mr. Cox has no constitutional or otherwise legal existence except as he is a creature of the attorney general, who is a creature of the President. Both exercise in behalf of the President and subject to his direction the President's constitutional responsibility and authority to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." To the extent, therefore, that the President's adversary is Mr. Cox, the President is litigating with himself. He is suing himself and defending himself against himself, putting on the guise of Charles Wright from one side of the counsel table, and the guise of Archibald Cox from the other. The voices are Wright's and Cox's, but the hands and the authority are the hands and authority of the President. And the President runs no risk. For if he loses in the guise of Charles Wright he can discard his mask of Archibald Cox. He can discharge Mr. Cox and appoint someone else in his place—perhaps Mr. Wright, if he chooses—who will follow his direction to abandon the demand for the White House tapes.

Quite possibly it is this option that the President has in mind when he qualifies his promise to obey a Supreme Court decision by saying that he will obey a "definitive" one. A decision by the Supreme Court that the President hand over the tapes to Mr. Cox or to Judge Sirica would not be a definitive decision if the President should respond by discharging Mr. Cox, and if Mr. Cox's replacement should then walk into Judge Sirica's courtroom and withdraw the demand for the tapes. At the very least at that point, a new litigation will have been commenced testing the authority of the President's new appointee effectively to withdraw the demand for the tapes.

If this analysis is correct, if Mr. Cox is the President's real and sole adversary in their law suit so that the President is in fact litigating with himself and has it in his lawful power to nullify the result of the litigation in the end by collapsing his creature Mr. Cox into his creature Mr. Wright—if this is so, then this law suit is no law suit. It is an internal controversy between the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

President and one of his subordinates, which the President at the moment, but only for the moment, is unwilling to conclude by discharging Mr. Cox and Mr. Cox is not prepared to conclude by resigning, and which the President has, therefore, chosen to submit to the courts for an advisory opinion. The federal courts have no jurisdiction to hear such contrived controversies. They do not sit to resolve the executive's family quarrels. It is not their function to render advisory opinions. Hence the case must be dismissed.

Can it be argued, however, that Mr. Cox is not the President's real adversary, or at least not his sole one, because the subpoena for the tapes is not Mr. Cox's but the grand jury's? If so there is a case that courts can adjudicate, a contest between the inquisitorial function of the grand jury, exercised independently of the President's authority, and the claimed power of the President to withhold information. But the extent to which the grand jury, or the grand jury together with the court that enforces its process, can exercise independent authority under the Constitution is uncertain at best.

The grand jury, as the saying goes, is a shield. It protects the individual against prosecution, for without its approval, no one can "be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous [federal] crime" under the Fifth Amendment. But if the grand jury is a sword as well as a shield, it is not much of one. Thus it is clear that the grand jury has no independent power to indict anyone and hold him to answer for a crime. It can refuse to indict, and when it does so, its decision is final. But it cannot indict without the approval and signature of the prosecutor, who is an executive officer, subject to the President's direction, and whose decision not to prosecute is discretionary and free of any control or review by the grand jury or the court.

Even though it has no power to commence a prosecution against the will of the executive and his prosecutorial agent, does the grand jury have independent power to inquire? Can it, with the approval of the court, but regardless of the wish and advice of the prosecutor, issue a subpoena? Could it, to bring the question down to the facts of the tapes case, issue a subpoena to the President, with Judge Sirica's approval, even if a prosecutor appointed by the President in succession to Mr. Cox should advise it not to, and should decline to have anything to do with any demand for the tapes? But what would be the point of the grand jury's having such power, since in the end there can be no indictment without the prosecutor's approval, and since there can be no use of the evidence of the tapes in any indictment the prosecutor might approve? And would it be wise to vest such far-reaching, independent inquisitorial power, subject only to judicial approval, in an unaccountable, randomly selected body like the grand jury?

A whole literature has grown up of recent years pointing to the dangerous power to pry, intimidate, coerce and persecute possessed by grand juries and prosecutors acting together. Intended as a shield for the weak and innocent, the grand jury has not been a very useful one, and reporters have not been alone, although perhaps they have been loudest, in asking for laws and decisions to shield them from the supposed shield. Shall we now lodge power, dangerous enough when exercised by the grand jury together with a prosecutor who, at one remove at least, is a responsible political officer, in the grand jury alone?

In order to treat the lawsuit between the President and Mr. Cox as a justiciable case, the Supreme Court would have to approach, at least by implication, a holding that there is some independent inquisitorial power in the grand jury, sufficient to sustain the subpoena for the tapes on the grand jury's rather than Mr. Cox's authority. Even then, if the decision on the ultimate question of executive privilege went against him in the Supreme Court, Mr. Nixon would still have lawful power at least to begin another lawsuit before having to hand over any tapes. For he could still discharge Mr. Cox and supplant him with someone who will follow the President's direction. The question, posed again initially in Judge Sirica's court, and then on appeal, would be whether the original Cox subpoena, disowned by a new prosecutor, retained any force; or whether the grand jury, or by then a new one, even though it might have power to issue a subpoena of its own, must first hear the advice of the new prosecutor. And the question would be how to appoint counsel for the grand jury to enforce a subpoena issued against the advice of the prosecutor.

All this has nothing to do with the ultimate issue of whether executive privilege, giving the President absolute power to withhold or release information as he sees fit, covers material believed on probable cause to constitute evidence of crime. I think it does not, and that on this issue Judge Sirica's decision was correct. But Mr. Cox's case may not be the one in which this ultimate issue, decided by Judge Sirica, can be settled.

Alexander M. Bickel

The Nixon Watch

Agnew's Case

At this writing on September 19, it's been 50 days since the United States attorney who conducts federal prosecutions in Maryland notified Vice President Agnew that he is being investigated and may be indicted on charges that he has violated laws "including but not limited" to statutes having to do with conspiracy, extortion, bribery and income taxes. US Attorney George Beall's letter of August 1 to one of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vice President's lawyers remains the only formal and privileged basis for continuing news reports that the Vice President is accused of criminal acts. These reports have it that he is accused of taking payoffs from contractors who did business with Baltimore County and the state of Maryland when Mr. Agnew was, in turn, the county's chief administrator and governor of Maryland, and that he accepted improper payments from some of the same benefactors after he became Vice President in 1969.

President Nixon, the Vice President and Attorney General Elliot Richardson have referred in various contexts and ways to the fact that Mr. Agnew is under criminal investigation. But no accuser has come forward and said publicly, in his or her own name, that the Vice President has committed any crime or done anything wrong. Although the prosecutor's letter mentioned "allegations concerning possible violations" and warned the Vice President that any records and information that he voluntarily provided "could be used against him in a criminal case," the US attorney made no charges of his own in the letter and made none in the following 50 days. In this period no warrant was issued. No indictment was sought, and no evidence concerning the Vice President was presented to a grand jury that has been sitting intermittently in Baltimore and looking into charges of corruption in the award of state and county contracts. Yet the regular publication of new allegations, the elaboration of old ones, and the ways in which the Vice President, the President, the Agnew staff, the White House staff and the Justice Department dealt with the matter profoundly affected the Vice President, the Nixon presidency and the Agnew-Nixon relationship. A report that Agnew was about to resign and an initial indication at the White House that the President would be neither displeased nor astonished if he did brought Mr. Nixon to the sad pass of having a spokesman say for him: "I am denying that there is any truth to stories that there is a disposition on the part of the White House or people in the White House to force the Vice President to resign or that the White House is applying pressure on the Vice President to resign."

Many of the reports that stimulated this situation and kept it alive were attributed to "sources close to the investigation" and often simply to "sources" that were not identified or characterized at all. But the sources were good enough for the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, Knight Newspapers, *Time* and *Newsweek* among other publications digging for the story. The most pointed and damaging of the reports had three Maryland engineers and contract consultants who were long-time friends, supporters and associates of the Vice President trying to save their skins by tattling on him to the prosecutor. More recent reports, less serious but suggesting a long run of tawdry behavior, had the Vice President accepting $15,000 from a retired Maryland industrialist who seemingly had nothing to gain from Agnew; free food for the family larder from the vice president of a supermarket chain; and a large "celebrity discount" on the rental of a luxury hotel apartment that the Agnews occupied until recently.

Attorney General Richardson, responding by letter to the Vice President's complaint that Justice Department officials were leaking some of the reports to the press, reminded him that "a considerable number of people in and out of government are aware of some details of the investigation. Its outlines are known to a number of witnesses, individuals under investigation, their lawyers, select members of my, your, and the White House staff, and certain investigative personnel of the Internal Revenue Service." The effect of this observation, and of much else said at the White House and the Justice Department, was to sustain and strengthen an impression that a serious investigation of serious charges had placed the Vice President in a very serious situation.

Why the President and the attorney general thus contributed to an impression that could not possibly do the Nixon administration any good puzzled many journalists and others following the affair. My impression is that there is no great cause for puzzlement. The sequence of known events suggests that the President and the attorney general have been aware since late July that the Vice President's situation is indeed serious and that they have had no choice except to handle the resultant problem with the maximum restraint permitted by so grave a situation and prospect. The attorney general would not have permitted prosecutor Beall to send the August 1 notice to an Agnew attorney if he had not been convinced after a review of the evidence then in hand that a grave warning to the Vice President was not only justified but necessary. Nor would Mr. Richardson have said later, as he has said and was still saying after the 50 days, that he must decide and had yet to decide whether the evidence against the Vice President justified a request for indictment and, if it did, whether an incumbent Vice President is subject to the criminal process or must first be impeached and removed from office. This last is the position taken and asserted by the President's White House lawyers, on Mr. Nixon's behalf, in connection with the Watergate scandals, and the Vice President has indicated to the Baltimore prosecutor that he may claim the same immunity from criminal prosecution so long as he holds the office. A reference to the attorney general in the White House spokesman's previously quoted denial of a "disposition" to force the Vice President to resign suggests that Mr. Nixon's final attitude toward the Vice President and his continued incumbency will turn upon Elliot Richardson's finding that the case against Spiro Agnew does or does not call for either indictment or impeachment. The spokesman, Deputy Press Secretary Gerald

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Warren, had indicated that he was trying to say precisely what the President had told him to say. He explained his earlier refusal to comment in any way upon a report that the Vice President was discussing and considering immediate resignation—a reaction that left the impression that the President wouldn't mind or be surprised if Agnew quit—by arguing that any White House comment would be "inappropriate" while the attorney general was assessing the case against the Vice President. The President's spokesman added: "I will not have any further comment until the attorney general completes his assessment of this situation and addresses it." There could hardly have been a clearer indication that the President is waiting "until the attorney general completes his assessment" and, at the least, expects the Vice President to await and act upon the same assessment.

The assumption at the White House is that the President must have considered and be considering alternatives to Agnew in the vice presidency. How his thinking and preferences run in this regard, I don't know and I doubt that any of his assistants know. But the subject can't be discussed at this point without reference to former governor, Treasury secretary and special adviser John B. Connally. He is one of Mr. Nixon's favorite characters; he organized and led Democrats for Nixon last year; he quit the Democratic Party and turned Republican early this year; and he's currently running about the land, testing his appeal to Republicans and to the general electorate, with a view toward going after the Republican nomination for President in 1976. Mr. Nixon had his friend Connally at the White House for a little talk the other day and had it announced afterward that Connally may be traveling abroad, to Europe and the Middle East, on presidential business in the vaguely defined future. Mr. Nixon teased Agnew and Agnewites early last year with indications that he might prefer Connally to Agnew on the 1972 ticket. Given a vacancy in the vice presidency this year, the President will have to nominate a successor, subject to approval by House and Senate majorities. Connally? It could be. For better or for worse, we'll soon know whether a successor is required and, if so, who it will be.

John Osborne

Campaign Financing

Raising the Money to Run

by Walter Pincus

The trouble with present moves to change our campaign financing system is that Congress hasn't taken, and perhaps doesn't want to take, the time to find out how federal campaigns *really* are paid for from the day a candidate decides to run to the weeks after the election when all the bills are to be met.

President Theodore Roosevelt at the turn of the century, having discovered that national banks and insurance companies had made substantial donations to his opponent, got Congress to pass a law barring such contributions. But other kinds of businesses—partnerships for example—were left untouched and to this day can use their own funds to make political donations. In 1968 and 1970 the public and the Congress were upset by the skyrocketing costs of television campaigning and the appearance of rich but politically unknown candidates who used their own money and the electronic media to run against entrenched incumbents. So after a year of haggling Congress passed the election reform act of 1971 which for the first time required comprehensive reporting by federal candidates of all money raised for both primary and general elections. It also set realistic limits on the amounts candidates could spend for advertising—particularly television.

The 1971 act had an immediate and important impact on 1972. To circumvent the disclosure requirement that went into effect April 7, 1972, Nixon fund-raisers in February and March made a strenuous effort to raise money from corporate donors who do business with the government. The contributions were illegal (remember Teddy Roosevelt's law) and more of them are expected to be revealed by the Ervin Select Senate Committee hearings on campaign financing and by Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, whose team of investigators made the initial discoveries. We already know that thousands of people gave at least $5000 in 1972; hundreds up to $50,000; and two gave $1 million

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or more. The disclosure requirement has opened our eyes to the importance of special interest donors—corporate officials, bankers, brokers, lawyers, architects, engineers, union leaders, employees of businesses doing government work, organized groups of farmers with subsidies, radio-television owners who are federally regulated and a host of others directly affected by government policies.

Common Cause, which monitored 1972 congressional campaign finances, found that all incumbents had enormous financial advantage over their challengers. In almost every case a nonincumbent had to spend more than $100,000 to win a House seat in the general election—an amount substantially above the limit many reformers had sought to put on the House races. The Common Cause figures have given rise to a new concern: will limiting campaign spending work to further handicap nonincumbents? The Common Cause statistics on Senate races, however, seem to show that a limit on spending could work to the benefit of the nonincumbent, since senators running for reelection appear able to raise almost unlimited amounts for their campaigns, and their challengers cannot. In instances where there was no incumbent senator running for reelection in '72, both candidates appeared to raise about equal amounts.

Common Cause is continuing its studies of interest-group contributions to individual representatives and senators, hoping to work out some reliable correlation between donations and the manner in which the recipients vote on matters involving their campaign benefactors. Such a study may provide factual support for the widely held belief that congressional backpedaling on certain issues—oil depletion, defense spending, health insurance to name a few—is tied to campaign donations.

Along with Common Cause, the Ervin committee hearings and perhaps the upcoming Cox indictments should provide additional information to guide legislators interested in doing what can be done to prevent public office from being a purchasable commodity.

The Senate is leading the way, as it did two years ago. In July it passed a bill setting new ceilings on both contributions and expenditures and it tightened up the disclosure provisions and required establishment of a new federal elections commission to supplant the Justice Department as a guarantor that campaign fund laws will be enforced. That bill has been sent to a House committee chaired by Representative Wayne Hays, who is no champion of significant reform. Hays' negativism has wide support among his colleagues—liberal and conservative. Because they run every two years, they are more wary than their Senate brothers of biting the hands that feed them.

The Senate, rather than waiting to see what happens to its July bill, is meanwhile pushing ahead with hearings on federal election subsidies, which Common Cause sees as a means not only for flushing out the corruptive influence of special interest money but also, in the words of Fred Wertheimer, legislative director for the group, a way "to [re-create] a new competitive system of representation." Some 31 senators have indicated support for one form or another of federal financing.

It didn't take the scandals of 1972 to show us that candidates for public office have two constituencies: the voters of their town, city, district, state or county; and the contributors who finance their campaigns. The financial constituency of any candidate may be spread far beyond the boundaries of his electoral unit. The most obvious examples of this wider constituency are the Washington lobbyists who have become a prime source of dollars for all congressional incumbents. There is, in addition, labor money, doctor money, liberal money from New York City—all of which is relatively indifferent to boundaries. The three types of candidates for federal office—representatives, senators and the President-Vice President team—have different although occasionally overlapping financial constituencies.

What motivates someone to contribute to politics? Sometimes the impulse is ideological, but very few people give to politicians out of habit or sense of responsibility, as they do to their church or favorite charity. Most often the motivation is economic—a favor or protection to be sought, or gratitude for service rendered. Since a President has the largest power to reward friends, his financial constituency is the largest. Senate and House committee chairmen rank next; congressional leaders of both parties and key members of important committees also have broad national financial constituencies. Then come incumbent senators, whose leverage on money is related to their committee assignments and who, because each represents one vote out of 100, can command more public and executive agency attention than a House member. Finally there are the lowly congressmen, limited in what they can do by House rules and the size of the House.

Having different constituencies, federal candidates also have differing financial needs. The representative requires an almost steady flow of small contributions—for his newsletter, for reports to his constituents, for entertainment and travel to and from his home district. To the public he runs every two years, but he knows he is running all the time. The senator, given some seniority, has it easier. He can raise money more readily and he needs it in large amounts only during his fifth and sixth years in office prior to his reelection campaign.

The presidency is a horse of a different size and color. Start-up costs for a nomination bid can be enormous—in the range of $500,000—because of the demands of primaries and the high cost of travel and staff. To get big money, particularly in smaller contri-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

butions, it takes big money. In the early stages, any presidential candidate is a gamble and experience proves that most contenders turn to a few rich friends or, if they are Nelson Rockefeller, to family funds. There have been candidates who drew smaller contributions from ideological supporters on the political left or right—Wallace, Goldwater, McGovern and to some extent, Eugene McCarthy—but in each of those cases there was big money from big donors that got the campaign rolling and held it together.

As of this moment there is no effective dollar limit on how much an individual can contribute to a candidate or a party. One practical limitation—a federal tax on any gift over $3000—was made meaningless by a 1972 Internal Revenue Service ruling allowing a large single donation to be divided among hundreds of committees, all having the same purpose. (That ruling is being challenged in the courts by Ralph Nader and others.) The newly passed Senate bill does put a $3000 limit on what a donor can give a candidate per campaign—though primary runoff and general elections are considered separate races. The bill also places a $25,000 overall limit on what one individual can give to all federal candidates in one year. One sweetener was added: the Democratic and Republican House and Senate campaign committees as well as the national party organizations—all of whom make donations to congressional candidates—are exempted from the $3000 rule.

But what about the presidential candidate who will need in the beginning more than $3000 from each of his early supporters? The answer is probably a loophole in the Senate bill that permits borrowing. Loans, though they must be disclosed, are exempt from the $3000 ceiling.

On the expenditure side the Senate adopted a formula of permitting 10 cents per voting-age citizen to be spent in primaries and 15 cents in general elections. A special $90,000 ceiling was set for both primary and general elections for House seats.

To facilitate disclosure of donations—and to limit the number of phony, paper committees—the Senate bill requires each candidate to designate one committee as his prime reporting body, with all incoming and outgoing funds funneled through it. That, combined with a change in the gift tax ruling and a $3000 limitation, should make review of filings simpler. To meet complaints of candidates that too many reports were required, the Senate reduced the number of necessary filings during the year to four, plus one 10 days prior to each election day.

But the Senate's most important Watergate-related reform was approval—for the second time—of a federal elections commission. In 1971 the Senate endorsed this idea but it was eliminated by the House. Senators were quick to point out this year that an independent commission with bipartisan membership would have done a better job in 1972 of investigating alleged illegalities and enforcing its findings than the General Accounting Office was able to do. The GAO, working without subpoena power, on several occasions sent recommendations for investigation to the Nixon Justice Department—recommendations that were ignored until after the election. The proposed commission of seven members, including the comptroller general *ex officio*, would be approved by the Senate and made up of three Republicans and three Democrats appointed equally by the President, speaker of the House and president pro-tem of the Senate. It would have power to subpoena records and initiate both civil and criminal proceedings on its own, without reference to the Justice Department. But the commission idea will again face rough going in the House, for that body fears real enforcement of campaign fund laws. The House members have become accustomed to having the law enforced—if that's the word—by one of their own employees, the clerk of the House. *He* has never harassed anyone.

What about having the federal treasury pick up some of the tab for campaigning? To its supporters, federal financing will open the door to federal office for poor and rich alike and will break the present grip that interest groups have on government through their ability to contribute generously to candidates. Those who oppose the plan cite the encouragement it would give frivolous candidates, or the boost it would give to third, fourth and fifth party candidates. Current proposals for federal financing, as the Senate hearings show, attempt to meet that criticism. A scheme for partial matching federal contribution has been put forward, and a bonding or penalty plan has been suggested to thwart the nonserious candidates.

But before putting federal candidates on the federal dole it would be prudent to see how the revised 1971 law works in the next congressional and presidential elections. Corporate and other special interest donors—from Robert Vesco to the dairy industry—have been burned in the fires of recent disclosure, along with the men who solicited their donations. Perhaps the House committee could call some other corporate, union and association officials to describe their campaign fund practices in 1972 and their plans for the future. That could have a cleansing effect.

As I see it, federal subsidies in certain narrow areas—such as television or mailings—are inevitable. But they should come slowly, be tailored to the office involved and with independent controls not just over how the money is spent by candidates but how it is distributed by the government. For with federal financing we put the government in a position to control elections directly. And that, as Watergate showed, can be a dangerous temptation to an incumbent presidency that views its political opponents as enemies and challenges to its reelection as threats to the national security.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Birthday Greeting

Walter Lippmann

by Gilbert A. Harrison

Mr. Lippmann was 84 on September 23

In his middle 70s, before he quit Washington for New York, Walter Lippmann in the late afternoon could be seen striding down Woodley Road opposite the Episcopal cathedral, cane swinging, a tweed cap on his head, wife Helen and the large black poodle briskly sharing a constitutional. The morning's reading and writing were over. There had been lunch at the Metropolitan Club, opinions exchanged with someone of note, compliments casually received on his latest newspaper column. That evening the Lippmanns will dine out, the ladies retiring after dessert, British fashion, leaving the men to coffee, brandy and politics. Mr. Lippmann will listen attentively—sorting, filing, discarding ideas—until he has heard enough; he won't linger long after that.

To whom has he not listened? Through the administrations of 10 Presidents he has been trusted with confidences. He has been trusted because he is not out to nail public officials and never in print circulates gossip or exploits a scoop. His mode of persuasion is inquiry and explanation. I once asked him what he did with his anger when he wrote. "I sit on it," he replied. His detachment is legendary, but it is no mask for indifference. Walter Lippmann has always had an intellectual passion for the good society; it is the mainspring of his movement. But he carefully distinguishes the good society from the Great Society: the former is civilized, the latter may or may not be.

The first of his 19 books, *A Preface to Politics*, was published three years after Lippmann graduated from Harvard, where he had studied under William James, George Santayana and Graham Wallas—the most enduring influences on his thought. He had been president of the undergraduate Socialist Club, a member of the executive board of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, and dabbled in reform as secretary to a newly elected socialist mayor in New York State. But socialism and political activism held his interest only briefly. Lincoln Steffens had him pegged: the young Lippmann, he said, had the best mind of his generation that could express itself in English. Writing was his occupation.

A Preface to Politics appeared in 1913—an age "rich with varied and generous passions." The book was a buoyant challenge to create a "splendid human civilization." Lippmann was 23, confident Americans could move mountains "as engineers do when mountains stand in the way." We would say with Nietzsche, "Let the value of everything be determined afresh by you." He had not anticipated, could not imagine, that a world war would so soon shake the foundations of his optimism. In writing *A Preface to Politics*, he had assumed without question that "in a regime of personal liberty each nation could, by increasing exercise of popular sovereignty, create for itself gradually a spaciously planned and intelligently directed social order."

By the time *The Good Society* was published, shortly before World War II, the foundations of optimism had collapsed under the weight of murderous totalitarian governments, and Lippmann set out again to locate truths "which have the capacity to infuse the longing to be civilized with universal and inexhaustible energy." Without such truths, without a "consensus of accepted ideas," he did not see how free society could endure. But where was the lodestar? He found it in a "profound and universal intuition of human destiny, which, to all who have it, is invincible because it is self-evident."

The Good Society is the book of a troubled man. *The Public Philosophy*, finished in the mid-'30s, is the somber meditation of a man who is alarmed at the decline of liberal democracies. And when Walter Lippmann is alarmed, something is burning.

We had reached the point in this country, he wrote, where politicians get ahead "only as they placate, appease, bribe, seduce, bamboozle or otherwise manage to manipulate demanding and threatening elements in their constituencies. Governments are unable to cope with reality when elected assemblies and mass opinions become decisive in the state, when there are no statesmen to resist the inclinations of the voters, and there are only politicians to excite and to exploit them. Then there is a general tendency to be drawn downward, as by the force of gravity, toward insolvency, toward the insecurity of factionalism, toward the erosion of liberty and toward hyperbolic wars." He was alarmed by our uncritical acceptance of the myth that a free society could be sustained by mutual tolerance ("there is no freedom in mere freedom," he had written elsewhere). He could discern among us no binding allegiance, no social contract grounded in a natural law that is "outside ourselves," that is "there objectively, not subjectively."

We could not continue, he warned, to manage our public business by just counting noses or by suffering

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the undisciplined pursuit of self-interests. We had to regain confidence in the "validity of public standards," in a "rational order of things," in "a vision of a realm of being in which the problems of earthly existence are not resolved but transcended." Jean-Paul Sartre had been wrong, not for announcing the death of God (there is "great faith and deep religion without any concrete image of God"), but for denying that "beyond our private worlds there is a public world to which we belong." And because that public world is *real*, the truth is *not* "what the individual 'chooses' to 'invent.' " And if we think it is, "then we are outside the traditions of civility and ungovernable"; we sink into a "quagmire of moral impressionism."

His view has been called elitist. Certainly *The Public Philosophy* is an unsparing critique of populism, of the Jacobin doctrine of the New Man. The New Man to Lippmann is the old Adam, and the old Adam will be ungovernable until his will is rooted in the "invisible and transcendent community."

Now I think I understand Lippmann's diagnosis of popular misrule, but I'm not sure what to make of the proposed cure. As Lippmann said of Alfred North Whitehead's concept of God: "There have been moments when I imagined I had caught the meaning. . . . But there have been more moments when I knew that I had not." Then he added, as I would: "I have never doubted, however, that the concept had meaning, and that I missed it because it was too deep for me." *The Public Philosophy* leads us to the edges of mysticism, but it does not invite us to leap into the arms of a God whose ways are mysterious. For Lippmann is a rationalist who believes that the "confusion in men's minds" is what ails us, and that this confusion is "remedial." The remedy is the rub. How are irrational men to be made rational? By what education are they to be brought to perceive, become attached to, "abstractions which are out of sight and out of touch"? It is a question Lippmann himself raised in his *Preface To Morals* —the "inherent difficulty about using the method of reason to deal with an unreasoning world."

The Public Philosophy was finished during the first term of President Eisenhower, whose election Lippmann supported in the interest of turning the Republican Party from demagoguery to responsibility. He is not a partisan, classifying himself a "liberal democrat," with a small d. And he does not regard government as a bit of machinery that needs only to be properly fueled to run well. It needs clearly articulated directions, which is to say, drivers, and he has never stopped hoping they would show up. He has been acquainted with every President since Theodore Roosevelt, and been more disappointed than not. In the '20s, when Lippmann lived in New York, he came by train to Washington once a week for lunch with President Coolidge, whom he found "loquacious." It was the sort of discovery that deservedly gave Lippmann a reputation for unpredictability. The presidential office has always seemed to him larger than the men who sit in it. Still, "a new crop of young men under good leadership" can always improve matters —if they can be found.

Several months before his 84th birthday I asked Lippmann to name the last occupant of the White House he thought was of presidential size. There was a pause. Finally he said, "Madison." Not Wilson? Not Lincoln? Wilson possibly; Lincoln, an open question. John F. Kennedy was "not that good." Richard Nixon, whom he had endorsed as the one in 1968, had landed us in the "worst scandal in our history." Lyndon Johnson had begun "extremely well" in his first hundred days but had stumbled ruinously over Vietnam.

If there were nothing more than his numerous columns on Vietnam, Lippmann's claim to prescience would be secure. He saw from the start that the outcome of the civil strife in Indochina ought not to be a vital concern of this country. His opposition to the war was pragmatic, prudent. But behind that, he said in 1961, "lies a very personal and human feeling—that I don't think old men ought to promote wars for young men to fight. I don't like warlike old men. I think it's their business to try as best they can, by whatever wisdom they can find, to avert what would be an absolutely irreparable calamity for the world." The hawks called him an appeaser, which is nonsense. He backed intervention in two world wars; he favored the Marshall Plan, NATO, the Alliance for Progress, even the United Nations action in Korea, until the UN forces moved to the borders of China. He is an advocate of alliances, of Big Power bargaining, but not of messianic globalism. "We are not able to run the world and we shouldn't pretend that we can," he said in 1965. "We have neglected our own affairs. Our education is inadequate, our cities are badly built, our social arrangements are unsatisfactory. We can't wait another generation."

Lippmann enjoys prestigious company and has known a great deal of it, but he does not rate those he meets on the scale of success they themselves may use. He is not easily dazzled. He was tempted once by the prospect of high public office—ambassador to France after World War II—but since the job was not offered, he never knew whether the temptation would have been resisted. He has been entertained everywhere, and not always found it entertaining. He broke up one dinner party at the residence of an American ambassador in Europe because he would not sit at the table and listen to cheap cracks at the expense of General de Gaulle. He has had all the honors. (In recent years honorary degrees are accepted only if he is not required to make a speech.) President Johnson attended a Lippmann cocktail party and invited the host's advice in the preparation of the famous Johns Hopkins "peace" speech—a gesture of respect if not affection. But the advice was not followed. Lippmann learned early on that a journalist ought not barter inde-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pendence for approval. When it became necessary in the columns of *The New Republic* to attack the pugnacity of Theodore Roosevelt, a man Lippmann greatly admired and frequently met, the choice had to be made between friendship and criticism. He chose the latter. "There always has to be a certain distance between high public officials and newspapermen," he said in an interview with Eric Sevareid in 1964. "I wouldn't say a wall or fence, but an air space. . . . I don't want to criticize what others do, but I don't think it's a good principle to advance your career or to tie yourself up with a candidate in the hope that you'll then be the inside fellow. I think that's bad journalism." It is also bad journalism to condemn the insiders without knowing as much as possible about what they do and why. So he has tried to understand them, to state their position better than they do, and to estimate the consequences of their policies.

Those who know only the columns of Lippmann's recent years may not appreciate how caustic he can be. For them I cite a few phrases from his articles in *The New Republic* in 1916: The Republican convention "was a gathering of insanitary callow men, who blasphemed patriotism, made mockery of Republican government, and filled the air with sodden and scheming stupidity." The Congress of that year "could not think, it would not imagine, it could not act. It squabbled over trifles, grunted and squealed and rooted, and left the country in chaos. It spoiled whatever it touched, obstructed everything it was asked to assist, attended to everybody's business but its own." He was no kinder to the Republican progressives of 1916, for unlike the Old Guard (which "doesn't believe in fairies"), they "just want to be a little nobler and a little cleaner, providing they do not have to stay out in the wilderness too long. They went to Chicago to play a game which only a professional can play because only a professional will take the time and the trouble to understand it. They trimmed, they evaded, they imagined they were boring from within, they tried to control a great party by making themselves as indistinguishable as possible from those who really controlled. They forgot that the virtues of a chameleon are purely defensive." And finally: "The sight of a baby sucking and biting father's watch, and cooing as contentedly as if it were having a meal, is a reminder that mankind is after all rather easily satisfied. . . . The best of us are not above sitting for a long time with acute maternal emotions on a glass egg. The latest glass egg of American politics is the word 'Americanism.' "

He has written an enormous amount—for *The New Republic* and other magazines, for the old New York *World*, for his syndicated column. The columns were handwritten, then dictated into a machine for transcription and dispatch by a secretary. He says he could easily have written more. Younger journalists who seek his company are welcomed with a drink and praise. There are still hours for solitude and hours for socializing. But the journeys are over; it is no longer Claridges in London and the Meurice in Paris in the spring, Maine in the summer, New York or Washington the rest of the year. If he misses the travels, how much more do we miss the Lippmann commentaries!

He values the faculty of "knowing what we *ought* to do" and "having the will to do it." Yet he knows that the outcome of our search for the "right rule" is bound to be "imprecise and inconclusive"; to think otherwise is to be guilty of the sovereign sin of pride. I once asked his advice on a vexing editorial problem to which I could see no solution. "You don't always have to have an answer," he said. Still we must make the effort. "I don't believe in being pessimistic," Lippmann told Howard K. Smith in 1960, "because what is the good of giving up before you're finished."

When he retired he flirted with the notion and abandoned it, of settling in Italy in the Tuscany of Bernard Berenson, whom he had known. Then he and Helen moved into a villa near Paris. But it was too inconvenient, too foreign. He came home to Manhattan, the Century Club, old acquaintances.

In my office there is a postage scale with small brass weights. It had been Lippmann's and was a gift on my birthday. Now, on his birthday, I am reminded by it of his taste for equations. He says that if he had not been a writer, he might have been a mathematician. He believes that our worldly propensity for mischief and meanness can be checked, balanced by "intimations" of another realm of being, known through "the eyes of the mind." The tension between a man's private impulses and transcendent truths are for Lippmann the "inexhaustible theme of human discourse," and their "prevailing contrasts are his wretchedness." But their "occasional harmonies in the lives of saints and the deeds of heroes and the excellence of genius are his glory."

"Buffeted from Both Sides"

What distinguished Wells among the Utopians is the fact that his Utopia was never finished and that every new experience amended it radically. . . . He seemed to live in that dangerous region where freedom is being tried and vision embodied. He seemed to be buffeted from both sides, challenged by his dreams which revolted at the compromises of reality, and assaulted by reality which denounced the emptiness of all dreams. He seemed to spend himself in that struggle—the severest that a man can face; and he seemed to win by a constant renewal of effort in which he refused to sink either into placid acceptance of the world, or into self-contained satisfaction with his vision.

—Walter Lippmann, *commenting in the first issue of* The New Republic, *November 7, 1914, on a new book by H. G. Wells.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on theater

The River Niger

(Brooks Atkinson)

Book Note

I saw *The River Niger* when it was first produced by the Negro Ensemble Company last winter off Broadway, but other urgencies kept me from reviewing it. It has since moved—successfully—to Broadway, the script has been published (Hill and Wang), and a second company is rehearsing for a tour that opens in Philadelphia in October, followed by Washington, Chicago and Detroit—at least. So I went to see the play a second time.

The first time, last winter, was in fact my second encounter with the author, Joseph A. Walker. I had gone up to Harlem several years before to see, in a school auditorium, a musical play of his called *Ododo*, a dramatic-musical-dance history of white oppression (later produced downtown by the NEC). Amidst an almost completely black audience, I felt like that minimal white person whom Genet wants spotlighted at every performance of *The Blacks;* still, through the lumpiness and blatancy of the work, I got singed by some genuine theatrical fire.

The River Niger, in its form, came as something of a surprise: it's a conventional domestic drama. Its subject is Harlem life. A housepainter, middle-aged and alcoholic, is a frustrated poet. (He's writing a poem about the Niger; hence the title.) He has a devoted wife, a mother-in-law, an old drinking pal, a son coming home from the air force, and a newly met prospective daughter-in-law. Out of these people's relationships and conflicts, along with others, comes the meat of this very long, overstuffed play. A second viewing made its glaring defects glare stronger, but also, happily, helped me to localize its strength. It's a terrible play; but it's not *just* terrible.

As for the first part of that statement: I haven't in a long time seen a realistic play so clumsily built, so naively motivated, so arbitrarily whipped to climaxes, and so ridiculously concluded. Walker is intent on cramming into his script everything he knows and feels about contemporary black life: family troubles, attitudes toward white people and toward military service, young love, job frustrations, militancy, police oppression, drugs, homosexuality, even black snobbisms about color. (Grandma resents being called black, says she's half Cherokee.) The way that Walker carpenters and shoves to get all this (and more) on stage when he wants it there makes the clumsiest 19th-century opera libretto look like Chekhov.

Again à la 19th century, he is addicted to stock-company hokum. (His director abets him.) The opening pantomime with Grandma and a whiskey bottle—which must take a full two minutes at the beginning of a very long play—would have been corny in Pocatello in 1890. The last-minute gunplay, into which all the characters move as naturally as if they were commandos, lacks only tremulous swelling music underneath.

The division of the stage into kitchen and living-room, with people on one side often slipping into dumb show or paralysis while people on the other side finish a scene, isn't poetic or imaginative; it simply plummets out of the realistic fabric, again unhelped by the director—or by lighting that might at least dim on the waiting side. Time after time Walker's people spell out facts to people who already know them so that we may learn them. And the language ranges from the sharp and salty—the obsessively salty—to the sound of a typewriter clicking. ("No matter what you and I might think about Mo's activities, he certainly does not deserve betrayal. I could not live with myself knowing that I had an opportunity to help and didn't.")

Laden with this erratic language, this dramaturgy so clumsily clever that it's not primitive but bad, torturously serpentine in its progress, devoid of any sense of emphasis as to which scenes should be long or short, the play nevertheless has a certain insistent life. That's the other half of the contradiction. First, it has a current of veracity, constantly battered by Walker's spurious theatrics but nevertheless there. For a white viewer, this veracity is informational—a peek behind closed doors. For black viewers, as I have seen twice with black audiences, there is warm recognition. Clearly *The River Niger* is doing for many black people what hundreds of realistic plays have done for whites for a century: quite apart from its quality, the play certifies the audience's existence. This is not arbitrarily a negligible function, particularly for American blacks, who have so long been deprived of accurate theatrical vicars.

But Walker's play is not unique in this, by now, nor in any of the subjects that he treats. The play does have one quality that, without compensating for its

(continued on page 33)

Films Worth Seeing

American Graffiti. George Lucas probes and fixes adolescent culture of the '60s. Often goes through cliché to quintessence.

Bang the Drum Slowly. The baseball picture for those who do and don't like baseball. Good sentiment and humor, though inconclusive.

Cops and Robbers. Two NY cops hoodwink some hoods and make a million apiece. Frequently funny and *thoroughly* crooked.

The Friends of Eddie Coyle. Robert Mitchum as the Willy Loman of the underworld. Grim, gravelly, an almost clinical study.

The Hireling. Sarah Miles and Robert Shaw are excellent as lady and chauffeur in a well-made small tragedy.

Last Tango in Paris. Despite what you've been led to think, the Brando-Schneider sex scenes are about a third of the picture. The first few of them are genuinely strong.

State of Siege. Costa-Gavras, who did *Z,* deals with the murder of a US official in Uruguay, 1970. Tendentious but gripping; or gripping but tendentious.

A Touch of Class. Glenda Jackson can do *anything,* and here she's in an old-style comedy-romance, updated. Mostly fast and frivolous.

SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John Reed, the Romantic

So Short a Time

by Barbara Gelb

(W. W. Norton; $7.95)

John Reed became a legendary figure in the Pantheon of revolutionary heroes not in virtue of any deeds but of the publication of his *Ten Days That Shook the World*. Lenin in a short introduction hailed the book as "a truthful and vivid exposition of the events" that culminated in the Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917. Its vividness is unquestionable; its truthfulness something else again. Even when its truthfulness is in doubt, there is no deliberate deception. The bias enters into the selectivity of the things and words recorded, the tone and mood of the writing, the adjectives applied to those who appear to him as congenial or sinister. It certainly is a faithful rendering of Reed's impressions of what was going on around him.

The book had millions of readers in multiple translations until the advent of Stalin. It was then suppressed by the Communist presses of the world because of the key role attributed to Trotsky who loomed all the larger because his Georgian rival was barely mentioned. Regardless, however, of the historian's judgment of John Reed's objectivity, were it not for his book on the Russian October revolution, neither he nor his wife, Louise Bryant, would be the subject of any great biographical interest.

The present biography of John Reed and Louise Bryant is a sensitive and compassionately written account of the short, frenetic careers of two courageous and mildly talented persons caught up in a vast historical transformation which they romanticized without understanding its costs and fateful consequences. If Reed achieved distinction through his book, Louise Bryant achieved distinction only through her relations with Reed. His life, ending with the onset of his disillusion, can be considered tragic. Hers was pathetic. In her own right she would never have been noticed. She was completely dependent upon the men she knew—and deceived. After the shock of Reed's death and an ill-starred marriage to William Bullitt, left only with her memories she lost herself in drugs and alcohol. They were of an age. Reed died when he was 33; Louise Bryant 16 years later at the age of 49.

Upton Sinclair once referred to John Reed as "the playboy of the Revolution"—an unjust remark which he lived to regret. No playboy ever evinced Reed's moral courage in defending unpopular causes: nor his physical courage when threatened with death by an illiterate soldiery; nor endured hardships so uncomplainingly. He was capable of great personal sacrifice, was free of snobbery, and although burdened with a sense of guilt as a social parasite before he found his vocation, never took himself too seriously. At the same time he was an incurable romantic with a craving for risk and adventure, politically naive despite an air of sophistication, theoretically unprepared to understand the significance of what appeared to him as merely esoteric controversies which divided the revolutionary ranks.

It is hard to see how Mrs. Gelb could have improved her biography of this oddly matched pair of Bohemian acolytes of love, poetry and revolution without going much more deeply into the events of the October revolution on whose interpretation John Reed rode to fame. She has uncovered some new details in the lives of Reed and his wife, especially the latter's strange interlude with Eugene O'Neill. The book is likely to have a greater effect at second remove. It invites readers with memories of the original impact of *Ten Days That Shook the World* to revisit the scene, so to speak, and assess the insights and qualities of writing that made the volume a revolutionary source book and classic.

Reed made no pretense of scholarly qualification. He wrote as a "conscientious reporter." His knowledge of Russian was scanty, and he was confessedly dependent upon handouts, hearsay and inside explanations he could not control. Nonetheless he was eminently successful in communicating the color, excitement, confusion, danger and agonies of the crucial days when power changed hands. The reader sometimes feels he is an eyewitness of the events described. Reed's sympathies from the moment of his arrival were with the Bolsheviks with whose history and political strategy he was completely unfamiliar. Their dynamism, opportunism and willingness to gamble their lives and the fate of the revolution against overwhelming odds appealed to his own reckless nature. He accepted their version of the July days when they sought to overthrow Kerensky as a spontaneous mass action. He swallowed their demagogic rhetoric at face value but disregarded the warnings of their socialist critics who invoked Marx against Lenin, and whose dire predictions were soon to be confirmed, as irrelevant Talmudic exegesis.

Reed was a master of the anecdotal method using it deftly to convey an impression to the reader of the authenticity of mass moods. He did this by projecting his own emotional reactions to some incident or speech on the encompassing political horizon. Thus when *Pravda* printed Lenin's denunciation of some of his erstwhile disciples who charged the Bolsheviks with establishing a dictatorship not *of* the proletariat but *over* the proletariat as well as over other classes, Reed wrote: "The response from the whole country was like a blast of hot air [against the insurgents]." When the Military Revolutionary Committee placarded the walls of Petrograd threatening extreme terrorist measures against government functionaries on strike, Reed wrote: "The masses of workers and soldiers responded [in support] by a savage tremor of rage, which swept all Russia." All this was poetic invention. Reed was never in a position to canvass the sentiment of "all Russia" or "the whole country."

However the one great central insight of Reed's book was confirmed by subsequent events and by later chroniclers of almost all shades of opinion—an insight which explains not only the Bolshevik triumph but why the Provisional Government lost out, and could not rally a successful counter thrust to the coup at Petrograd. This was the complete and utter war weariness of the Russian masses and the technical inability of any Russian regime to continue the war against Germany. It was not as Marxists, socialists or Communists that the Bolsheviks won but chiefly as resolute opponents of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LET THE NEW REPUBLIC BLAZE THE TRAIL—

use our Teacher's Guide (free with our low cost classroom subscription program)

Last year we added something new to our classroom subscription program . . . a weekly teacher's guide. It is an invaluable aid in the classroom.

"This is simply a note to say how helpful your teacher's guide materials have been this past year . . . I have been teaching 'civics' for four years and have a most difficult time getting through the utter boredom most people have put up as a barrier to the subject. Your stories have fed me for years . . . Keep up the good work."

If you are a teacher of government, literature, international relations, history or economics, we recommend *The New Republic* for use in your classroom. Special classroom rates for bulk orders of 10 or more copies are as follows: *Each student's copy costs only 17 cents weekly if 10 or more are mailed to a single address. Free desk copies are included for each instructor.*

Orders may be placed for any number of weeks, for one week only, or for the entire school year. You will receive your copies before they appear on the newsstand—insurance that the contents are fresh and exciting.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
An Independent Journal of Opinion
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Please enter this CLASSROOM ORDER.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

Number of copies weekly .....

Number of free copies needed for Instructor .....

Starting date .....

Termination date .....

Signature .....

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

war. This was also the source of their subsequent influence in Western countries. Before he died Kerensky admitted in a poignant conversation with me that his greatest error was not the policy of relative moderation he pursued toward the Bolsheviks but his failure to take Russia out of the war after Kornilov's revolt. Reed's perception of this situation was sharpened by his own passionate antiwar sentiment and his earlier bitter experiences reporting the carnage in war-torn Europe.

With respect to almost everything else, although a first-rate reporter of the surface of events, Reed's naiveté was apparent as soon as he ventured on political analysis. Bertram Wolfe in his masterly introduction to the most recent edition of *Ten Days That Shook the World* (Vintage paperback; $1.95) quotes an unnamed participant in the dramatic events at Petrograd to the effect that Reed "did not know whether he was celebrating a marriage or a funeral." Reed would have replied that it was a double celebration by and about different historical personae. In justice to him one must acknowledge that when he penned his book there was not the slightest sign of any canker of doubt or skepticism in his attitude. (That was to come later after he returned to Soviet Russia and became embroiled in the politics of the Comintern.) His mood was euphoric. The concluding pages express an intense faith in the October revolution as the harbinger of a new society of justice, peace and freedom.

The thinking behind that faith was pathetic. He was capable of writing to his wife, advising her on how to present the Bolshevik takeover persuasively to American farmers, that although all private property in land had been abolished, the Russian peasants need fear no interference with their freedom to farm the land, "since the Government owned the land and the farmers and workers *were* the Government. They object, of course, to anything which takes the ownership of their land away from them; but they should understand that private property in land is just a means of being secure in possession of it, which public ownership under Bolshevism makes them automatically."

Most disheartening is the evidence that Reed's will to believe eroded his faith in democracy. When his commitment to revolution was challenged, he justified it on the ground that the revolution expressed "the will of the great majority." He plays up on many pages

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Bolshevik demand for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly as the most authoritative institution of the new Russian democracy. Yet when Reed completed his book on New Year's Day 1919, he knew that the Bolsheviks had already bayoneted it out of existence the previous January. They had garnered less than 20 percent of the vote. Even in Petrograd which the Bolsheviks tightly controlled they received less than 50 percent of the votes cast. Yet Reed swallowed without any compunction the forcible suppression of the Constituent Assembly—an act that led Rosa Luxemburg to a final break with Bolshevism, and which prepared the way for Leninist terror and Stalinist totalitarianism.

According to Balabanoff, Gitlow and Eastman, John Reed died a bitterly disappointed rebel. Had he lived and escaped from the Soviet Union would he have disavowed his book to prevent it from nurturing similar illusions in others? He certainly would have scorned Stalin and all his works. But would he have acknowledged—as Trotsky and other Leninists refused to do—that the system which made Stalin possible was not built by Stalin alone? One would have liked Mrs. Gelb to have explored the question. As it stands it is a highly creditable account of two lives illuminated by the incandescence of a great historical event.

Sidney Hook

The Children Are Pool Tables

Rose, Where Did You Get That Red?

by Kenneth Koch

(Random House; $7.95)

Kenneth Koch's first big pedagogical effort was *Wishes, Lies and Dreams* (Vintage; $1.95), which appeared originally in *The New York Review of Books* and then went around the English-teacher world like wind. Now comes its sequel, also launched in *NYRB*. With both of these volumes being broadly circulated Koch emerges as probably the most influential figure in the teaching of poesy that we have, as well as one of the big contenders in something maybe bigger than poesy, an English Department reform movement that began in the '60s and is still going strong.

That movement places strong emphasis on getting the child to warble his own native woodnotes wild and not to sit passively ingesting an "alien" literary and rhetorical culture. I use the word "alien" advisedly. The movement began as part of the big save-the-cities push of the idealistic pre-Nixon years, for which the revolutionary first premise for the teaching of English was that underprivileged children of the ghettos were being sold a foreign language by old-line English-teacher pedagogy. Black studies came to be part of the revolutionary reply to the status quo, but blacks were soon discovered to be not the only underprivileged in respect to language and literature. Even the WASP child, radicals claimed, was being deprived of his native tones. Why did *anyone* need the Great Tradition?

What is surprising about the popularity of Koch's proposals in the midst of revolution is that behind Koch's apparent agreement with the revolutionaries is a pedagogy that is not only prescriptive but prescriptive in mostly traditional ways. He has preached the native-woodnotes revolution while providing his own traditionally oriented woodnotes. His gospel asserting the child's rights of self-determination conceals dozens of rules and regulations that egg the child on to play up and play the game. A remarkable feat really—accomplished by an immensely talented teacher who manages consistently to provide students, by hook or crook, with the positive reinforcement for which their bad-school situations create a need.

In *Wishes, Lies and Dreams* the game was an updated version of ye olde rhetorical game played by little Ciceros and Shakespeares from the beginning, in which the student was arbitrarily assigned certain pat topics and then provided with what used to be called tropes (and suchlike) for coping with the topics. In Koch's hands the topics were wishes, lies and dreams, and the primary exercises gave the student simple rhetorical prescriptions to model each line of poetry upon. The first and simplest prescription was merely to begin each line with "I wish"—but the wish syndrome quickly gathered unto itself other specifications. Then came comparison poems, surely central to the Great Tradition with or without the word "like," followed by "I used to/but now" poems, and "if" poems, and a lot more, all of which put the students in closely controlled situations that would have been thought absolutely inhibiting and therefore deadly if such words as "discipline" or "exercise" or "assignment" had been allowed to enter. But of course they weren't. What Koch was prescribing was taken as a curriculum of Fun.

This new book is even more prescriptive. Also, because it throws into the hat an anthology of mostly familiar Great Tradition poems, it is thoroughly reactionary if anybody chooses to think so. Koch does it so well that presumably nobody will. He brings the news to the children that they should imitate masters like Shakespeare and Blake, but brings it in such a way that they should think they are doing their own thing. And of course in an important sense they *will* be doing their own thing—the doctrine of imitation, when intelligently observed, has always allowed for that.

The first exercise in the book is with Blake's tyger poem. Here the "poetic idea" that the children are expected to observe is to "write a poem in which you are talking to a beautiful and mysterious creature and you can ask it anything you want—anything. You have the power to do this because you can speak its secret language." The results range from some touching evocations of the mysteries of the original poem to some fine whimsy like "Glub glub, little squid. Glub blub, why blub do you glub have blub." Soon after the tyger poem comes John Donne's "Valediction Forbidding Mourning" with its notorious compass image and the instructions to students to "write a poem in which you compare deep and serious feelings to science and math. If you like, put one of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these comparisons in every line. Or you can devote the whole poem to one or two comparisons." This exercise does not, it seems to me, work out well in the sense of producing many reasonable facsimilies of the Donne notion, but the results can be wholly charming nonetheless, like the following mind-blower: "Two people together is like two pins standing in a bowling alley—the ball is the mother, the alley is the father, and the children are pool tables."

Many of the imitations of Shakespeare's "Come unto these yellow sands" are also nice (the prescription: "a poem in which you invite people—or only one person if you wish—to a magical beautiful place full of sounds and colors, and where all kinds of marvelous things may happen. In each line of your invitation you may want to put one sound or color, or maybe more"). A sample:[8]

> Follow the footprints
> Come follow, come follow
> And reach a glass fence
> All with gay colors
> Of scarlet, blue and yellow
> Up the glass step you go
> And hear the light wind blow
> Wwhhit, wwhhit is flutter.

Other effective imitation games are set up with poems by William Carlos Williams and Lorca. Less impressive—or so at least I think—are the efforts with Stevens, Whitman and John Ashbery. These exercises, directed mostly at children in grades three to six in P.S. 61 in New York City (contrasted interestingly with a class in Africa) are numbered 10 in all, and are supplemented by an anthology of more than 50 additional poems to which are attached suggestions for classroom use. *Rose, Where Did You Get That Red?* is thus a full-scale literary textbook for teachers who want to join the Koch bandwagon. I think that if I were an elementary school teacher I would. Certainly the children's responses themselves, of which now in the two volumes we have a rich supply, should be enormously interesting and instructive to any seriously committed elementary-school teacher. So successful in fact are the books in engaging the pedagogical mind that the question arises whether the "poetic ideas" in them couldn't be used as well with high school and college students.

The answer comes back quickly, yes they could be so used, and are probably being so used. Yet in contemplating their effectiveness with supposedly more mature minds I do think some of their limitations become apparent.

The "ideas" are, first, a bit too cute, a bit too gamey in an obviously childish way to entice, say, a long-haired college frosh who has just returned from two years on drugs in Athens. And they are, second, so exclusively directed at encouraging the fanciful—that is, directed to wishes, lies and dreams—that the other end of consciousness gets neglected. Logic, narrative, description—all the old hats that produced school debating and themes on "My Summer Vacation" or "The Most Interesting Character I Have Ever Known"—are omitted from the scene completely; and while the old rhetoric may have devoted entirely too much time to them, and done so in inhibiting ways, they are still needed *someplace* in our schools and lives, even in our poetry.

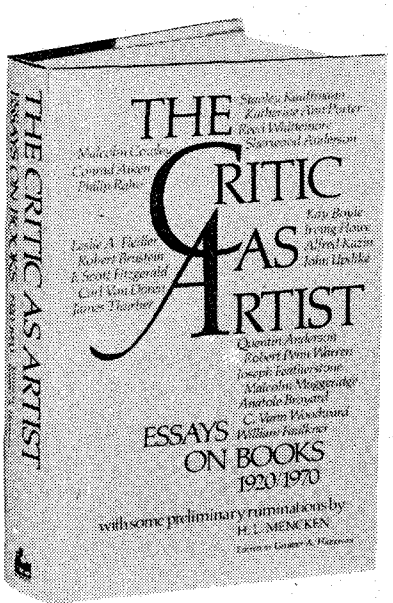
Another way of putting my complaint—and I'd rather it be thought of more as a suggestion than a complaint—is that Koch manages inadvertently to emphasize one of the chief weaknesses of the old rhetoric, which was primarily show-and-tell and paid too little attention to the antecedent challenge of sensitive *observation*. Koch's exercises also seem to discourage simple looking.

Such discouragement is presumably not his intention. At one point he even tells us that he has had good results with "bringing some ordinary yet beautiful thing, like a small animal or fruit or vegetable, to school for the children to look at and touch"; but then, having raised our expectation that he will come out strong for more student looking, he goes on to say that he brought the objects to class so that the students could look at them and touch them before writing about them "in as many ways as they can." That "many ways" motif is diversionary, at least if the game is observation and reporting. Thus with oranges and lemons and ears of corn the students, having handled them and smelled them, were asked to write poems "about what they *thought* they were" (my italics). By this injunction the exercise was converted into an exercise in comparison—an orange, for example, was clued in by an imaginative child as a tennis ball on fire.

I hope it is clear that I am not running down comparisons—or ifs, or wishes—but simply asserting the challenge and difficulty of other modes of meeting the world. I'd like to imagine that in his *third* book Kenneth Koch would shift gears slightly and take them into account. Meanwhile we can be delighted with what we have.

Reed Whittemore

*"a gem...One begins this book by browsing, then reads the entire book with a hungry passion."**
*"Book lovers and serious readers will welcome this collection...."***



Cloth $12.00/Paper $3.95

*The Cleveland Press
**Winston-Salem Journal

THE CRITIC AS ARTIST
ESSAYS ON BOOKS: 1920/1970
Edited by Gilbert A. Harrison

An unusually intimate look at major literary figures of the twentieth century.

Here is a brief sampling:

- Famous authors writing about famous authors—
  F. Scott Fitzgerald on Ring Lardner
- First reviews of now celebrated books—
  Thomas Wolfe's LOOK HOMEWARD, ANGEL
- American reaction to renowned European books when first published in the United States—
  D. H. Lawrence's LADY CHATTERLEY'S LOVER
- Essays of historic literary significance by major critics—
  Quentin Anderson on Nabokov's DESPAIR

LIVERIGHT
386 Park Avenue South, New York 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lay Prophet of Science

H. G. Wells

a biography by Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie

(Simon and Schuster; $10)

No wonder Herbert George Wells thought he could save the world by sheer brain power. Hadn't he beaten the rigged game of the English class system with nothing but his wits? Born in 1866 to mismatched parents who lived in barely genteel poverty, he became aware at an early age of the abyss that yawned just below his precarious niche in Queen Victoria's island realm. His mother's greatest ambition was to see her "little Bertie" apprenticed to a draper. But the frail, sickly little boy with the piercing blue eyes had other ideas. A daydreamer by temperament and a voracious reader, he became in rapid order a prizewinning student with a bent for science, a successful journalist, a wealthy and critically acclaimed novelist and a world-renowned pundit.

Today of course he is remembered mainly for the series of "scientific romances" that he wrote before his 35th birthday—*The Time Machine, The Island of Dr. Moreau, The Invisible Man, The War of the Worlds, The First Men in the Moon.* While most of his contemporaries were oblivious to the changes that science had already wrought in their world, they responded to Wells' futuristic visions of scientific discoveries gone awry. As conscientious biographers the MacKenzies do justice to other aspects of Wells' career—the "conventional" novels that he wrote from largely autobiographical material, the tragicomic flirtation with Fabian socialism, the stormy friendships with virtually all the other important writers of the period, among them Joseph Conrad, Henry James, Arnold Bennett, Ford Madox Ford and George Bernard Shaw. But the figure that rightly dominates this stimulating biography is H. G. Wells as Lay Prophet of Modern Science. Having written so persuasively about the dangers inherent in the scientific enterprise, Wells literally took it upon himself to stem the tide of irrationality that was threatening to sweep away Western civilization. It was imperative that mankind—or at least a saving remnant of sane men—establish a new world order based on reason. What better model for rational thought and action than the scientific method? This was the message that Wells preached with all his formidable intellectual powers and energy from the turn of the century until his death in 1946.

At the height of his career, in the two decades that bracket World War I, Wells held the attention of the English-speaking public as perhaps no man of letters has before or since. The MacKenzies point out that successful writers of that period were *stars*—"as much in the public eye as film stars and then television personalities became in later years." In George Orwell's authoritative eyes Wells was an authentic superstar: "I doubt whether anyone who was writing books between 1900 and 1920 . . . influenced the young so much." But time eventually overtook Wells; his desperate pleas for a rational social order became something of a bore and he lost his audience.

In retrospect it appears that Wells never really crossed the boundary between the 19th and 20th centuries. A passionate man in every way he made no effort to reconcile the passions of the flesh and the intellect. In private life he seemed content to act out a kind of Victorian male fantasy. He enjoyed the upper-class social whirl to which his success as a writer had gained him entrée; and he stayed married for 32 years to a woman whose principal function was to provide the domestic order necessary to maintain his place in society. But when he was not giving or attending splendid weekend parties with his wife, he was living with a succession of "liberated" young women.

Wells was no hypocrite. He hid nothing from his wife or his friends, who generally accepted him as he was. He acknowledged and generously provided for the two children he fathered out of wedlock; he openly defended "free love" in a novel published in 1909. At the same time he made clear his belief that the body and the mind were fundamentally at war with each other—and no one could doubt which side he would be on when it came to a showdown. Having rejected traditional Christian eschatology, he recast the great moral drama of mankind in terms of Darwinian evolution. In his later Utopian visions he tried to show how man's baser tendencies could be brought under control by the forces of reason. Ironically it was his insight into the dark side of human nature that gave his scientific romances their haunting power. The theme is stated most explicitly in *The Island of Dr. Moreau,* where a mad scientist labors to create human beings out of the flesh of beasts. The pitiful creatures struggle in vain to live up to their new destiny, which is expressed in the litany of an Absolute Law:

> Not to go on all-fours; *that* is the Law. Are we not Men?
> Not to suck up Drink; *that* is the Law. Are we not Men? . . .
> Not to claw Bark of Trees; *that* is the Law. Are we not Men?

Any resemblance between the moral imperatives on Dr. Moreau's island and the social mores of Queen Victoria's island are purely intentional.

Gerald Jonas

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

SIDNEY HOOK *is professor of philosophy emeritus, New York University and author of the forthcoming* Education and the Taming of Power *(Open Court).* PETER MEINKE *teaches humanities at Eckerd College, Florida.* CHARLES DAVIS *is chairman of the department of religion at Sir George Williams University, Montreal, and author of* The Temptations of Religion *to appear in January of next year (Harper & Row).* GERALD JONAS *is on the staff of* The New Yorker. REED WHITTEMORE, *former literary editor of* The New Republic, *is professor of English at the University of Maryland, and author of several volumes of poetry.* JONATHAN YARDLEY, *book editor of* The Greensboro Daily News, *served on this year's fiction panel for the National Book Awards.*

PETER DAVISON, *whose poem, "Bedtime," appeared in last week's issue, is director of the Atlantic Monthly Press and author of* Half Remembered: A Personal History *published last month by Harper & Row.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

People's Religion

The Seduction of the Spirit: The Use and Misuse of People's Religion

by Harvey Cox

(Simon and Schuster; $8.95)

A few years ago everyone was discussing Harvey Cox's *The Secular City*. Since that time he has, he tells us, moved "from secular Christianity to people's religion." But whether *The Seduction of the Spirit* represents any great change will be a question among his more attentive readers. Its autobiographical approach reflects in part, I think, Cox's attempt to answer that question for himself.

At any rate he has not discarded his enthusiasm for the city, sparked off in him by childhood visits to Philadelphia, and afterward strengthened by varied experience in urban living. Cox's love of the city has depth of thought as well as of feeling. But the city for Cox is no longer secular. "Secular man" is now dismissed as a misnomer for "urban man" who is not secular, but "cosmopolitan." He is "that person who knows at a very basic level of his being his own story is only one among many." Actually it is his old concept of urban man, but Cox has dropped the thesis that—to quote *The Secular City*—"pluralism and tolerance are the children of secularization."

In the earlier book urbanization and secularization went together and marked the collapse of traditional religion. Like Bonhoeffer, Cox was looking for a nonreligious interpretation of the Christian faith. Now, on the contrary, he speaks of "the religious revival which is under way all around us" and of "a new religious sensibility . . . struggling to be born." He declares that "ritual and religion are not going to wither away," and a chapter headed "Beyond Bonhoeffer" argues that "the question of the future of religion is open again."

If religion will always be with us, the real issue is now whether people's religion is going to be used for man's liberation or to keep him in bondage. What we should be opposing is not the persistence of religion, but the seduction of the spirit, namely "the calculated twisting of people's natural and healthy religious instincts for purposes of control and domination." Cox sees the chief threat from the mass media, because what they are propagating is in effect corrupted, manipulative forms of religion.

"People's religion," then, is the new watchword, and the central part of *The Seduction of the Spirit* is given over to that theme. The phrase embraces the folk level of traditional religion and the popular religion of new groups, both contrasted with official religion. But attention will be immediately drawn, as Cox must well have known, to the chapter, "Naked Revival," an account of his taking part in the mixed nude baths at Esalen. Despite all the pleasurable sensations, he kept his critical intelligence; effectively, he portrays the sensitivity-encounter movement as a new manifestation of American pietism, seeing this Third Great Awakening as of value but of still uncertain outcome.

In the last few years Cox has been "immersing" himself "in the folk religion and Hispanic Catholicism of Latin America." For him "the most important religious revolution of our time" is "the conversion of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America from enforced lethargy and self-deprecation to anger, pride and self-emancipation." Drawing upon his reading of the anthropologist Casteneda, who in his study of the Yaqui Indians moved away from detached observation and became an apprentice to a medicine man, Cox urges theologians to turn from "investigating" to "learning from" people's religion and sketches a methodology of "participant hermeneutics." The hints are suggestive and clearly in the right direction for the study of religion, but I would like to have seen them more rigorously discussed.

Much of the first part of the book is autobiographical. Readers will enjoy the account of his upbringing, but one wonders: is his plea that testimony or autobiography deserves reinstatement as a primary mode of religious discourse more than a rationalization of fashion? Testimony and modern autobiography are not identical in genre, and the fusion of autobiography and theology simply reflects a current cultural trend, manifested also in the autobiographical novel.

The last part of the book, "The Electronic Icon," raises a more serious question, namely about the coherence of Cox's attitude to technology. Technology is associated with symbolic impoverishment. The mass media deal in "signals" rather than the symbolically richer "stories." Our culture, bureaucratically organized and programmed, is out of balance, offering no occasions for ecstasy, trance, emotion and feeling. In short like *The Feast of Fools* (Cox's transitional book on festivity and fantasy), the present book is in reaction against the narrow rationality attributed to our technological society.

With Henry Adams as mentor, the symbolic power of technology is stressed. Technologies function as

The Patient

disease has expanded my horizons
and pain
spread the good word

since I've been sick
I feel close to the blighted things of
nature
(I myself am a blighted thing of
nature)
burnt oaks
gutted houses
(for surely houses are as natural
as beehives)
broken foxes lying by the highway

bugs crawl along the rims of my
glasses
my body pocked with spiralled holes
like those punched in butter
in each hole something moving

hooked on disease (it gives
meaning to my life) I wriggle wormlike
around the pain and God
is the large-mouthed bass circling
below me

PETER MEINKE

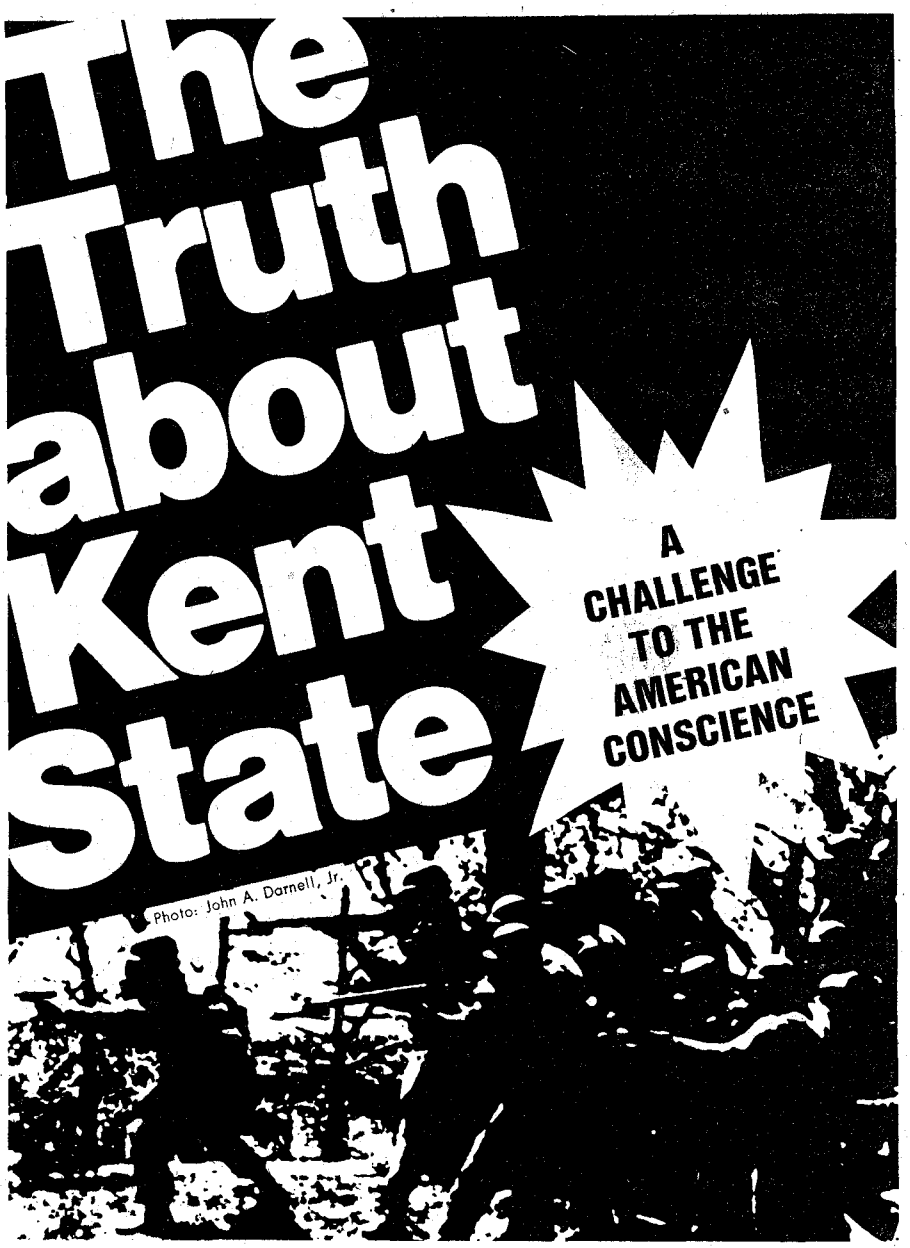
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sacred rituals of purification and of extrication from bondage. They provide myths and metaphors for man's self-understanding. We invest machines with our deepest hopes and terrors. Mass media are powerful because they are mythogenic. Here technology is seen, not as the dominance of rationality and system over symbol and spontaneity, but as the triumph of deep-set if destructive myth.

But if the second analysis is correct—which I think it is—we need above all a critique of myths, symbols and stories, not their uncritical proliferation. We need to offset the excessive place given in our culture to technological and bureaucratic rationality by shattering the myths that are the driving force behind it. We cannot reinstate a first naiveté or innocence in our use of myth and ritual, but must struggle through to a second, post-critical innocence. Cox's book remains on the level of symptoms.

The same kind of criticism may be made of his treatment of people's religion. There are places in the book where Cox refers to the holy or transcendent. Malvern, the village of his childhood, was "where the awful sense of the fathomless mystery and utter transiency of life first dawned on me, and where I discovered that in the midst of that terror and nothingness I was loved." Again the holy is said to make itself felt in human life in, with and under specific earthly acts and artifacts, so that the infinite is known through the finite. Nevertheless Cox defines religion in the widest possible manner as "that cluster of memories and myths, hopes and images, rites and customs that pulls together the life of a person or group into a meaningful whole." Are we to assume that religion in that wide sense inevitably includes the encounter with the holy? In other words, that there is no distinction between the experience of the holy and the collective interiority without which a people is inconceivable? Cox seems to say yes to these questions.

Cox has not yet come to grips with the problem modernity raises for the man of faith. The theology of secularization, set forth in *The Secular City*, was an ideological attempt to claim the modern world for Christianity by giving "secularity" a putative biblical origin. The concept "people's religion" seems to me to represent the same ideological attempt to claim the present world, this time by identifying the mythical, symbolic dimensions of the human psyche as religious. This evades the modern



■ This remarkable book reconstructs in detail — with more than 70 startling, vivid photographs — the killing of four Kent State University students by Ohio National Guardsmen on May 4, 1970. The information that it presents — some of it new evidence brought to light during the past three years — strongly suggests that what took place was not a tragic accident triggered by panic, but what one Ohio National Guardsman has called "deliberate murder."

THE TRUTH ABOUT KENT STATE is not only an eye-opening examination of the killings themselves, but a devastating account of the Administration's years of evasion, duplicity, and inaction. It shows why the Justice Department was finally forced to reopen its investigation in August.

By **PETER DAVIES** and the Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church. All royalties will be devoted to the continuing quest for justice at Kent State.

Cloth $10, Noonday paperback $3.50 • Now at your bookstore

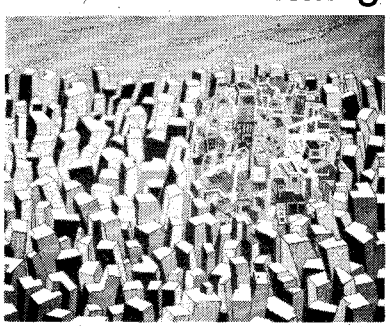
FARRAR, STRAUS & GIROUX

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

critique of Christianity and of religion, with the impact of that critique upon the social world in which we live. Granted the initial narrowness of Enlightenment reason, one does not have to be religious to acknowledge the role of myth and ritual, or to evaluate myths by the criterion of human liberation. What is problematic for modernity is any nonreductive faith in the transcendent. Cox does not critically reflect upon the persistent traditional faith he himself has which, through all the changes of language and emphasis, makes him interpret the world and history in religious terms.

Charles Davis

Good original art a beautiful investment



Risaburo Kimura "City 156"

Rare original lithographs & etchings signed by Boulanger, Calder, Chagall, Dali, Kimura, Vasarely, Young and other important artists can be yours exclusively. Send today for free color brochure.

Original print collectors group, Ltd.

Dept. NR3, 501 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017

Jew Amid the Alien Corn

Heartland

by Saul Maloff

(Scribner's; $6.95)

The principal difficulty with Saul Maloff's intelligent and entertaining new novel is that the ground it explores has already been rather thoroughly plowed. Its central theme—that of the vaguely intellectual New York Jew set uncomfortably down on a corn-fed provincial campus—has been examined by, among others, Bernard Malamud in *A New Life* and John Updike in *Bech*. The bizarre ritual its protagonist encounters is out of *The Golden Bough* and bears striking if entirely coincidental similarity to the tale spun by the whilom movie actor, Thomas Tryon, in his current best-seller, *Harvest Home*.

Still Maloff is a novelist of skill and wit, and there is much to recommend in *Heartland*. Isaiah Greene, at 40, is a down-on-his-luck and dispirited lecturer to a gaggle of middle-aged women, part-time students in an executive training program of the New York telephone company: "Sometimes he thought of them, and himself, as life's non-matriculated." But his luck changes when, quite by accident, he is swept into a protest demonstration against the Russian treatment of Jews. Interviewed on television, he suddenly becomes a minor celebrity, a media phenomenon.

Greene's moment in the sun enables his agent to arrange a lecture tour through the American heartland that climaxes in the West on the campus of Donner Pass College for Women. There, with another lecturer, an eccentric Jewish poet named Lionel Fox, he is subjected to a complex of confrontations: between Jewish male and *shiksa* female, between East and West, between the city and the provinces. It all reaches a deliberately extravagant climax when the young ladies of the college stage a gory ritual, the precise nature of which, in deference to Mr. Maloff, the reader must discover for himself. At the end a sobered Greene returns with relief and gratitude to New York's racial, ethnic and ideological heterogeneity. As his girl friend tells him: "Well, *chaver*, every man has to go West. Not everyone returns. Count your blessings."

Maloff has described *Heartland* as "a comic fable," and at its best the comedy is indeed good. In Greene's "rapid descent into exposure" on television, there is a deft depiction of the mindlessness with which the media can pluck a nonentity off the street, award him instant celebrity and just as quickly return him to oblivion. The small-time academic lecture circuit is no less mindless; Maloff, a veteran of its tortures, has a sharp eye for its techniques and pitfalls:

> He hadn't meant to say any of it. His intention had been to chuckle twice or at the most three times; assent vaguely but warmly; make a small, lecturish joke, if possible; and let it go at that. But he had gone on, piling pomp on pomposity, knowing the risk of parodying a manner where only the manner and not the parody would come through. If Thought was in the contract, he'd give them Thought—the Cartesian, pipe-smoking Easterner to a sickening turn. The subtle Talmudist, *par excellence*.

The Sharing of Land and Resources In America

Peter Barnes' six-part series on the distribution of land and wealth in America is now available as a 64-page booklet. Price [including postage and handling]:

1-10—$1.00 per copy
11-50—90 cents
over 50—75 cents

Address orders to
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th St., NW
Washington, DC 20036
prepaid orders only
D.C. residents add 5% tax

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Again to quote Maloff's description of the novel, "The theme has to do with being uneasy in America, more specifically being Jewish and uneasy in America, uncomfortable in paradise." Paradise, in this case, is a campus filled with nubile *shiksas*, a campus whose centerpiece is an enormous phallic carillon. It is, as the college publicity woman tells Greene, "God's country," but for an itinerant Jewish lecturer from New York that claim turns out to be questionable.

Heartland is nothing if not a "New York novel" in point of view, conscious and deliberate; for Maloff seems to recognize that New York provincialism is as ripe a subject for satire as heartland provincialism. At times, however, Maloff's satire is heavy-handed, as in his description of the college bookstore, an aggregation of stuffed animals and bric-a-brac that the publicity woman calls "a *general* store." *Heartland* may not make Saul Maloff many friends in the heart of the heart of the country, but it is, on the whole, provocative and perceptive.

Jonathan Yardley

In Brief

World Without End, Amen by Jimmy Breslin

(Viking; $6.95)

When New York City blew its last hope of salvation by declining to take the Mailer-Breslin ticket seriously, Breslin, bless him, went right on campaigning—most recently in behalf of a group of Irish-Americans who were being slowly ground up in the Texas justice machine. In his spare time he blows the whistle on malefactors of great wealth and on small-time chiselers in high—including the highest—offices. But he is not only a tireless muckraker, he is a man of wide and generous sympathies, the best kind of rabble-rouser, and most particularly a champion of the cause of the Catholic minority of Ulster.

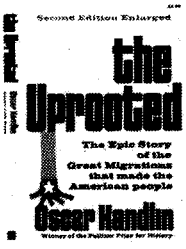
Breslin is also a novelist—an odd one who writes as he speaks (on television and in his periodical journalism), not in the Queen's English, but in an "ethnic" Irish Queens (NY) accent. He knows that world as only a native son can, and that knowledge is the source of his strength as a writer. He is racetrack wise and streetcorner funny, and he can smell a con through three feet of concrete. He is the only honest Irish cop on the force.

When he is on home ground in the first third of his new novel, writing about Irish cops in Queens, his ear and eye pick up everything within range. If his portrait of life at home and on the beat is accurate—and there can be no doubt of its authenticity—then that is where hell is located, in the bars, courtrooms and those endless rows of two-family houses of "neighborhood" New York. This is not the black ghetto or the central city; no one goes hungry and at the end of the line there is a pension. This is the white, ethnic, lower middle-class, embattled "suburb" of the most depressing drabness, meanness, sloth, squalor—the spiritual equivalent of hopeless dead-end poverty; it would make drunkards of Carrie Nation and Billy Sunday and an atheist of Billy Graham.

But Breslin is not content to be our chronicler of this desiccated corner of the city. He is aflame with a mission; accordingly, if improbably, he provides Dermot Davey, his cop-protagonist, with a feckless father who abandoned the family in Dermot's childhood and now lives in Northern Ireland. From the moment Dermot's plane lands at Shannon the novel collapses; it collapses into some good on-scene reportage of the unholy war in Belfast and Derry and elsewhere—but as a novel it nonetheless collapses utterly. Having brought Davey all that distance, Breslin loses interest in the father. Girls are more interesting than fathers, so the accommodating author provides a handsome one—and, irony of ironies, she is a Communist to boot. With a hardhat, hippie-hating, Commie-hating Irish cop up against a Maoist lass named Deirdre, love wins hands down. But it was not meant to be: on the campaign trail with a candidate who's a dead ringer for Bernadette Devlin, and just as Dermot and his Marxist girl are about to take off for Donaghal for one night of love, Deirdre is shot down in cold blood by a Proddy fanatic. Breslin at his worst has always been a beery sentimentalist who does not scruple at bathos and has a marked weakness for soggy movie finishes.

From all this Dermot learns pitifully little: in the epilogue we see him back on the beat in Queens, still a lush, still consorting with bad company, still on the take—world without end, alas.

"An epic of uprooted souls"

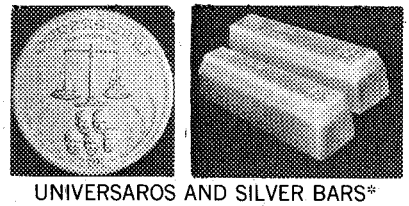

Second Edition Enlarged
the Uprooted
The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that made the American people
Oscar Handlin

This characterization of Oscar Handlin's Pulitzer Prize-winning work appeared in *The New York Times Book Review*, and shows why this study of America's immigrants has become a modern classic. As the *Chicago Tribune* observed, "There are few Americans who will fail to respond to its theme." With supplemental chapter and a new bibliographic essay. Now available in paperback at $3.95

THE UPROOTED
Second Edition, Enlarged
by Oscar Handlin
An Atlantic Monthly Press Book

A PRAISE-WINNING LITTLE, BROWN PAPERBACK

ORDER PURE
Silver
DIRECT FROM THE FACTORY AND SAVE



UNIVERSAROS AND SILVER BARS*
it's simple! profitable! secure!

No middle-men! IMC mints pure 99.9% silver, sends it directly to you, you save. Buy and fight inflation and dollar devaluation.

IMC MINT CORP.
Successor to International Mint Corp. and International Silver Mint Corp.
315 East Second South • Salt Lake City, Utah 84111
CALL TOLL FREE (800) 453-4263 / OPEN SATURDAYS
Available in platinum, too!
GET THE FACTS TODAY! Send for FREE BROCHURE
ORDER DIRECT FROM THE FACTORY AND SAVE

Name
Address
City State
Zip Phone
No obligation, naturally R-1

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Again this year,
CHRISTMAS CARDS
designed for readers
of
The New Republic
by three artists
familiar to them.

Jules Feiffer
Pat Oliphant
Robert Osborn

available soon

THE FALL
OF THE
AMERICAN
UNIVERSITY

By Adam Ulam

"Ulam is offended to the point of injury by the self-indulgence and sheer simple irrationality that he believes have poisoned our public discourse concerning the largest purposes and values of society and, more particularly, concerning the direction and uses of the university. His impatience with nonsense, and especially with nonsense that is dangerous, sometimes leads to judgments whose wit and tough intelligence seem particularly bracing in these bad times . . . as personal testament, (*The Fall of the American University*) remains powerful and important."
Commentary

Second Printing *Now* Available
$7.95
At your bookstore, or send to

Open Court, Dept. NR-103
LaSalle, Ill. 61301
Enclosed is $7.95 ☐ check ☐ money order for my copy of The Fall of the American University.

Name
Address
City
State Zip

A LIBRARY PRESS BOOK
OPEN COURT

Nutrition Scoreboard: Your Guide to Better Eating by Michael Jacobson

(Center for Science in the Public Interest, 1779 Church St. NW, Washington, DC 20036; $2.50)

Cookbooks and magic diets are money-making staples for the publishing industry, and it is rare when none are listed among the best sellers. On the other hand books about nutrition seldom make the top 10. We care about whether we look fat and are particular about how our food looks, but we seem otherwise unconcerned about what we shovel in.

Nutrition Scoreboard is one of those rare, practical guides to living which everyone would do well to have but which few will probably buy. Although the book is inexpensive, you will not find it on a drugstore rack or in a book store: you have to order it yourself. Those who surmount this obstacle will then have to face the fact that some of their favorite foods are either nutritional junk or hazards to health. For example those for whom snack time means a Hostess Twinkie and a Coke will either want to throw them in a trash can (where they belong) or throw away the book. Those with more conventional eating habits will probably be shocked to learn that many processed meats contain dangerous additives such as sodium nitrite or sodium nitrate. If you go for a hearty breakfast such as bacon and eggs, you may feel less hearty after you've learned that "cooked bacon . . . is probably the most dangerous food in the supermarket."

Most books about nutrition get bogged down in detailed nutritional analyses and become indigestible. By contrast Jacobson, a microbiologist, has devised a simple system in which each food is given a single numerical rating. Positive credits are awarded for protein, natural carbohydrates, vitamins, iron, calcium and trace minerals, while points are subtracted for added sugar, saturated fat and high fat content. Among protein sources beef liver scores the highest with 172. A chicken breast is worth 62 and a half cup of soybeans gets 41. However three ounces of sirloin steak just barely beats a small McDonald's hamburger: 19 to 18. Grain products, vegetables, fruit and even frozen TV dinners are rated. Not surprisingly the big losers are soft drinks and candy. Coke and Pepsi, whose combined advertising budgets exceed the budget of the Food and Drug Administration, come in almost dead last with -92.

Dieters will find the book especially useful. With Jacobson's simple scoring system, one can tell at a glance which foods are nothing but empty calories and which are highly nutritious. Parents should also find it helpful for weaning children away from junk foods and finding "rewards" which are nutritious as well as good-tasting. Cantaloupe, for example, is far and away the top point-getter among fruit with 99, and perhaps the biggest surprise is that watermelon is second with 74. (Both are high in Vitamins A and C and contain iron.)

Sugar, white flour, saturated fat and salt favored by American food manufacturers lead to many serious diseases that are almost nonexistent in what are sometimes called primitive countries. Jacobson's assessment of these companies is harsh: "General Mills and Coca-Cola are probably responsible for more deaths every year than General Motors. We have got to recognize that the long-term effects of a bad diet lead to early death just as surely as an automobile accident."

The Heart of a Man by Lt. Frank C. Elkins

(Norton; $5.95)

Lt. Elkins was not a typical pilot (few servicemen kept comprehensive diaries of their experiences with the intent of writing a novel), but not atypical either. In May of 1966 he entered combat in Vietnam "itching to get into things, absorbed in ribbons, medals, and glory." A staunch believer in the war and in the bombing, he was ready to make the military his career.

During the three-month period covered by the diary, Elkins faced up to doubts about his role in the war—though he never found it as intolerable as an antiwar reader might hope. At first he attempted to draw sharp distinctions between "legitimate military targets" and the human victims of his bombs, but he could not still his fears that he might be destroying family fishing vessels along with freight-laden enemy barges. By October he was thoroughly tired of the fighting (10 percent of the pilots in his company had already been killed), uncertain that he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could prove anything to himself by repeatedly risking death, but still somewhat reluctant to call it quits. Before he could resolve his indecision, his airplane disappeared in hostile fire over North Vietnam.

This account is generally lucid, though readers unacquainted with military terminology will find certain passages on flight procedure and combat details tedious. Most personalities are hastily sketched, but Elkins himself comes through as a gutsy, likeable guy. In a sensitively written introduction, his widow describes the diary as one man's attempt "to portray the cost and agony [of the war] on a personal level." But Elkins leaves us wondering how many others he spoke for.

Kauffmann, *from page 22*

horrendous faults, glows through them: the truth of affection. People *care* for one another in this play in different alliances and affinities, and the evening gets its truest life, not from plot or rhetoric or social criticism, but from the bonds of affection between husband and wife; between husband and old doctor-friend; between parents and son; between son and girl friend; between son and boyhood pal. Walker writes at his best when he's dealing with these feelings.

The director, Douglas Turner Ward (himself a playwright), played the housepainter when I first saw the play, and filled the theater with effortlessly overflowing vigor. His Broadway replacement, Arthur French, is good but not quite as effortless. His wife, Barbara Clarke, seems a touch less affecting than Roxie Roker who played it before. The rest of the cast is unchanged. The actresses who play Grandma and the son's girl friend are the same—so bad that they are beneath criticism. Graham Brown and Neville Richen as the old doctor and a young militant are true and easy. The best performance comes from Les Roberts, the son. Roberts, along with Albert Hall of last winter's *Wedding Band*, are among the strongest young black actors in New York.

Ward's direction runs a parallel course to Walker's writing. Never really first-class, it sometimes projects life. But often he pushes people into poses and stage "pictures" that are ludicrous. He's the sort of director who is reluctant to let people sit down in their own homes if they have a scene to play, and he's never really comfortable with more than two people on stage at a time.

Ward is also the artistic director of the NEC, some of whose other productions I've seen, and has said that he is interested in "a theater of Negro composition and of Negro orientation." I hope that "Negro orientation" won't mean being satisfied with laughs and handclaps of recognition, such as one can hear in any Broadway audience at a play designed for the white suburbs. The usual reply by black people to white critics is that black theaters don't care for their views because they are working for black audiences. To which I would reply that black audiences deserve work as good, by general theater criteria, as any other audience. I hope that Ward and the NEC, and Walker in his writing, will not let valid blackness, about which I have no comment, justify theatrical shoddiness, about which I do.

Book Note. Praeger has just published *Theatres: An Architectural and Cultural History*, by Simon Tidworth, an English art historian ($18.50). There are 188 illustrations in the 224 good-size pages, which one would expect for the price. Less expectable are the authority and wit of the concise text. Speaking of the high acoustic quality in ancient Greek theaters, Tidworth says that this "seems largely the result of accident . . . Greek engineers had no way of understanding this. The science of acoustics is still fifty percent guesswork, as some unhappy modern experiments are enough to prove." Speaking of 18th-century England's achievements in theater building: "Some of the nobility had cultural ambitions, but their achievements were meagre—the little theatre added by Wyattville to the Duke of Devonshire's Chatsworth in the early nineteenth century is practically all that patriotism can point to."

The architectural view of theater history, incorporating (as time went on) scene design and lighting, is especially fruitful because, as Tidworth says, "In a general way . . . the form of drama has determined the form of theater. But in any particular instance it is clear that the form of theater has normally conditioned the form of drama." He deals comfortably with developments from Athens to America—there's even an expedition to Sydney—but he seems most at ease, most expansive, when writing about opera houses. The section on the Paris Opera is particularly good.

My only real quarrel is with the second half of his subtitle: he's weak on the cultural history, on connective motivations. He doesn't even speculate, for instance, on why the early pure Greek theater form developed as it did into its Hellenistic and Roman forms. At the present-day end of the chronicle he accepts a bit too credulously that productions like Barrault's *Rabelais* and Ronconi's *Orlando Furioso* "have had a revolutionary effect on our ideas of what the theater can do." But he follows his fascinating story with a generally keen eye for inspiration, pomp, silliness and beauty. Inevitably some of the pictures are familiar but all of them are valuable—and rightly placed in the text.

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 516 West 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.

Personals

COUNT DICKULA POSTER—Nixon's, Haldeman's, Mitchell's hands around Dean's neck, Ervin holding cross. $3.00. Lloyd Kraus, 15984 Tobin Way, Sherman Oaks, California 91403.

VINYL BUMPERSTICKERS! Senator Sam Gives A Damn! or Impeach Nixon. Both for $1.00. 100 for $18.00. Political, Box 144, Hazelwood, Missouri 63042.

IMPEACH NIXON bumperstrips: 4/$1, 10/$2, 25/$5. Buttons 3/$1, 7/$2, 20/$5. "Don't Blame Me—I Voted McGovern" bumperstrips: 3/$1, 7/$2, 15/$5. Liberty Press, Box 441-B, Carrboro, North Carolina 27510.

MALE, PROFESSIONAL, 58, seeks correspondence with liberated woman in St. Louis area. New Republic Box 6610.

FEMALE and MALE Personal Products and Contraceptives. Illustrated catalogue with valuable information on all methods of birth control. Foam, jelly, rhythm aids, condoms, a carefully selected assortment of books on birth control and sexuality, and a one-day federally-licensed pregnancy test. Fast, reliable service guaranteed or your money back. Send $3 for sampler of 12 leading male contraceptives; catalogue alone, just 25¢. POPLAN, P.O. Box 2556-NRC 2, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

HELP AN UNDERPRIVILEGED AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD to remain in school, and have a new friend who needs you. $15 monthly. Futures for Children, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D. C. 20016, (301) 320-3536.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LONELY! Seeking happiness? Write National, Box 54695NR, St. Petersburg, Florida 33739

MINK COATS $395. Jackets! Capes! Stoles! Box 550N, Freeport, New York 11520

WOMAN, 60s, college graduate, varied interests, share interests with woman or man, similar background. Arizona New Republic Box 6605

ORIGINAL VINYL BUMPERSTICKER "Don't Blame Me I Voted For McGovern" "Honk! If You Think He Is Guilty" "WATERLOOGATE" 2/$1. OHK, P.O. Box 99111, San Diego, California 92109

UNATTACHED? Nationwide correspondence! Identity, Box 315-NR, Royal Oak, Michigan 48068

ANTI-NIXON BUMPERSTICKERS! "Don't Blame Me I Voted For McGovern," "Prices Too High? Nixon's The One!," "No Amnesty For Nixon," "Nixon Enemy #29,168,509," "Nixon For Ex-President," "Honk If You Think He's Guilty," "Impeach Nixon (And Spiro, Too!)," "Visit $an Clemente (You Paid For It!)," "Impeachment With Honor." Prompt service. 2/$1, 5/$2, 15/$5. Volume/dealer discounts. Checkers Enterprises, Box 8051E, St. Louis, Mo. 63108.

HUMANISM: Position of Bertrand Russell, Thomas Szasz, Julian Huxley. A vital philosophy for free thinkers who really care about people. Free information American Humanist Association, Department NR, Box 7692, San Francisco, CA 94121.

SINGLE? Discover an intriguing fun way of meeting alert, literate singles. OPERATION MAZEL TOV, 175 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10010. Write for FREE analytical questionnaire.

"IMPEACH WITH HONOR," "RESIGN YOURSELF (Nix's Pic.)," Beautiful Bumperstickers. 1-50¢, 2-75¢, 3-$1.00. Polibump #1, P.O. 398, Newport Beach, Ca. 92660.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH, $10.00 and sample to Elisabeth King, 41 E. 29th Street, New York 10016.

HELP OVERCOME DISCRIMINATION and severe underprivilege. Sponsor a Spanish-American school child in New Mexico. Correspondence. Visitation. $180. per year. Futures for Children, 5612 Parkston Rd., Washington, D. C. 20016.

FRIENDS OF CHILDREN OF VIETNAM, nonprofit corporation needs $30,000 to build and staff one Nursery in Saigon. We are an all volunteer group. No money for administration. If we can raise the money in ads like this we won't need to spend money to raise money. Registered in Colorado and Republic of Vietnam. Hdqtrs: 4568 Beach Court, Box L, Denver, Colorado 80211. Contributions are tax deductible.

TIRED of being in doubt? WEARY of seeking help and making little progress? RESTLESS over not finding the answers you want? Why not question a Philosopher? Your money returned if not satisfied. Send $5 per question for full and complete answers to: Marshall Franklin, Philosopher, Box 132, Weston, Vermont 05161.

PICTURES OF WOMEN in nontraditional jobs. $2.75/set of 8 pictures. Community Helpers and/or Professional Women. F.R.E.E., P.O. Box 3185, Farmingham, Massachusetts 01701.

END EXPLOITATION, oppression and war. Build a friendly, classless, democratic world. Join the Socialist Party, U.S.A., 1012 N. Third Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203

ALPHAPHONE® headset—brainwave trainer. Free literature. Aquarius Electronics, Box 627-Q, Mendocino, California 95460.

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge, evokes insight. First year bimonthly training course free. Write MEDITATIONS, P.O. Box 566 N, Ojai, California 93023.

"DICK-TATOR" "ET TU AGNEW" Bumperstickers $1 ppd. Peace Boutique, 811 Washington Street, Newtonville, Massachusetts 02160

ABORTION IS MORALLY RIGHT. Ratiocinativity, cognizance, and the capacity to feel pleasure and pain are the three categories of ethics. Diploidness, race, species, and biological life are NOT categories of ethics. Self-sovereignty to ratiocinating beings; sanctity to cognizant beings; and courtesy to their wanted offspring. AAL, P.O. Box 36122, Los Angeles, California 90036

Games

WATERGATE DART GAME—Throw darts, not stones, at alleged participants. Silk/screen photo reproductions on a 16" square dart board with velcro-tipped darts. $8.00. EH Gardner, Dept. 46, 1625 Stanford Avenue, Redondo Beach, California 90278

WORLD WIDE GAMES, Box 450NR, Delaware, Ohio 43015. Free Catalog of 55 hardwood games and puzzels.

Peace Personals

IMPEACH NIXON; SENATOR SAM ERVIN; Sweatshirts $5., 2/$8.; T-Shirts $3., 2/$5. Sizes: Small, medium, large, X-large. Bumpersticker: Box 3893-N, Merchandise Mart, Chicago 60654.

NIXON . . . "GODFATHER" IN THE WHITE HOUSE; IMPEACHMENT WITH HONOR; NIXON BUGS ME: PHASE V, IMPEACH NIXON. 4/$1. 20/$4. (catalogue free) . . . BUTTONS: Box 3893, Merchandise Mart, Chicago 60654.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Please state intended use for appropriate samples. Write fro FREE Brochure. Price List and Samples. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING INC. Dept. NR, 8551 Page Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

Literature

SALE—25% OFF children's books. Dr. Seuss, Pooh, many others. Hardcover and paperback. Free list. Spring Church Books, Box 127R, Spring Church, Pennsylvania 15686.

BOOKS FROM CHINA, Magazines, posters, records, prints, papercuts, stamps, scrolls. *Free Catalog.* CHINA BOOKS & PERIODICALS (3 locations) Dept. NR, 2929 24 St., San Francisco, CA 94110; 125 5th Ave., New York 10003; 900 W. Armitage, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

SUCCESSFUL MARRIAGE. Exciting new newsletter. Write for FREE copy to Successful Marriage, Dept. NR, Box 1042, Kansas City, Missouri 64141.

WANTED: Books by Tom Bell, Ormmont, Isherwood. BOOK IDEAS, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

BOOKS ABOUT ARCHITECTURE, Transportation and Urban Environments. For our price lists, write to Desk NR, The Rigley Book Company, P.O. Box 26012, San Francisco, Ca. 94126

WE[illegible] mer[illegible] ign[illegible] Gol[illegible]

ONCE
IS NOT EN

Special Introd
3 insertions for

We realize that you can't tes[illegible]e
week's classified ad so we [illegible]is
with your order for two wee[illegible]

THE NEW REPUBLIC

1914

Please run the enclosed advertisement _____ times in THE NEW REPUBLIC. Advance payment of $_____ is enclosed.

_____

_____

_____

_____

(See rates next page)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A DIRECTORY OF AMERICAN POETS—A unique reference work listing 1350 contemporary writers. Includes address, telephone, latest book, publisher & teaching preference; national orgs. that sponsor writers; anthologies, films, video tapes, etc. about writers. Purchasers receive free supplementary newsletter "CODA." Send check/money order $4.00 (includes tax and postage) Poets & Writers, Inc. 201 W. 54 St. New York, New York 10019

FREE BOOK, Prophet Elijah Coming Before Christ. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 72, 481 Thurston Road, Rochester New York 14619.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY CAMPUS: Detailed coverage of undergraduate lecture courses, in book form. Valuable resource for teachers, learners. Sampler, catalog free. Write: FYBATE LECTURE NOTES, Dept. 10, 2440 Bancrott, Berkeley, Calif. 94704

Literary Services

TRANSLATING SERVICES. English-French-Manuscripts articles, business letters. Box 364, Kimberton, Pennsylvania 19442.

WRITERS—Send for FREE information. LITERARY MARKET FINDERS, Dept. N, 256 S. Robertson, Beverly Hills, California 90211.

WRITING, research, manuscript polishing, Professional. Reasonable. Fast RESEARCH DATA PUBLISHER'S, Box 4374, Silver Spring, Maryland 20904. (202) 723-1715

LIBRARY INFORMATION. Research by professional librarians. All fields. Box 8202R, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15217.

RESEARCH, WRITING for businessmen and professionals. Excellent staff. Reasonable rates. Research Reports, Suite #5, 6400 Georgia Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20012 (202) 726-1444.

WRITERS—"UNSALABLE"MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphiccopy, Box 285R, Floral Park, New York 11011.

BELIEVE IT OR NOT, only 750 words are keeping you from reaching the top in business, school, and government! For the most powerful vocabulary in America, send $1.95: MAS Enterprises, 600 Beulah, Vienna, Virginia 22180

Foreign Studies

OXFORD—unique study opportunities, American credit system. WARNBOROUGH HOUSE, Oxford, OX2 6JA. England.

MEET RUSSIANS FACE-TO-FACE on 3-week nonpolitical non-profit exchange visits to the USSR. Open to qualified Americans, all ages, occupations. Departures June through December. Write-Wire-Phone Citizen Exchange Corps, Dept. NR, 10 West 46th Street, New York, New York 10036. (212) 581-8113.

Employment Opportunities

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 889-N, Belmont, California 94002.

Business Opportunities

DELICATESSEN RESTAURANT & BEER BAR in small liberal-intellectual college community. Details write: Yellow Gulch, P.O. Box 64, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387

Spare Time

HOW TO MAKE EXTRA MONEY writing greeting cards, "fillers," children's stories and articles. Not a course. Free details. SERVALOT, 119-V, East 26th Street, New York City 10010.

OF ALL THE ADS YOU SEE AND READ TODAY, this may be your karma—but only if you respond. Chicago man reveals little known secrets; how to turn simple words into solid dollars. Rewriting can be rewarding. Send for free message—Room C-495, 6228 No. Clark St., Chicago, Illinois 60660.

HOW TO MAKE MONEY Writing Short Paragraphs! I tell you what to write, where and how to sell, and supply lists of editors buying from beginners. Small checks can add up to worthwhile extra income. Write to sell, right away. Send for free facts on my "Home Studies in Writing," Barrett, Dept. C-456-C, 6216 N. Clark, Chicago, Illinois 60660.

Safes and Vaults

TRTL-30 or Better. Maximum security systems exclusively. Money-Jewelry-Narcotics-Classified Documents. Torch and Tool Resistive. Kenneth Ellman. (212) 585-3300; (914) 699-0274

Property—Sale/Rent

SALE: Two lots, Port Charlotte, Florida, Reasonable. Owner, 1268 Hahn Street, N.E. Aiken, South Carolina 29801

GOVERNMENT LANDS . . . FROM $7.50 Acre! Vacationing, Farming, Investment! Exclusive "Government Land Buyer's Guide" . . . plus "Land Opportunity Review" listing lands throughout U. S. Send $1.00. Surplus Lands, Box 6588-SM, Washington, D. C. 20009.

FOR RENT MONTH OR SEASON 1974, 5-bedroom, 3½ bath, completely furnished house on Cuttyhunk Island, Massachusetts. Fourteen acres, private dock, two waterfronts, spectacular views, motorized skiff and truck included. New Republic Box 6595.

Vacations/Travel

HOTEL EL COZUMELENO, Cozumel, Mexico. Unusual vacation at the most exclusive island resort. Box 53, Cozumel, Q. Roo Mexico.

AIR TRAVEL/CHARTER FLIGHT HANDBOOK saves 70%! Special fares, charters worldwide. New book reveals travel bargains. $5.20 postpaid. Details free. AIRLINE CHAIRMAN, 150 Greeves, Kane, Pennsylvania 16735.

TIRED OF HIGH VACATION COSTS? Live rent-free where you choose. Write Viking HOME EXCHANGE, Box 3007, St. Paul, Minnesota 55165

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.75. Rates, schedules, 700 passenger carrying freighters. TravLtips, 40-21 J Bell, Bayside, New York 11361.

MAINLAND CHINA 24 days $1599; weekly departures, scheduled airlines. AIRLINE CHAIRMAN, 150 Greeves, Kane, Pennsylvania 16735.

NEW YEARS "KAISERBALL," Hofburg Palace, Vienna. 4 days hotel, Lippizaner Horses, Meals, Gala Ball, $175. AIRLINE CHAIRMAN, 150 Greeves, Kane, Pennsylvania 16735.

SAN FRANCISCO ON A BUDGET? Charming, centrally located. Hotel Beresford, 635 Sutter Street.

Arts and Crafts

HANDWEAVERS: Largest stock of looms on display. Immediate delivery most models. Catalog available. School Products Co., 312 East 23rd Street, New York City 10010.

LOOK! Quality hand puppet for creative play; cube design puzzle. Both imports usually $6.75. Yours for $4.50 ppd. Send check today: BETTY, 84 Montclair Avenue, Montclair, New Jersey 07042

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 50¢ Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Mass. 02339.

GIANT CELESTIAL MAP (6½' x 3½') 5179 stars, 88 constellations; decorative reference tool. $9.00 (postpaid) ASTROGRAPHICS, P.O. Box 2411, Dept. N, San Francisco, Ca. 94126.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

Sports Equipment

LIGHTWEIGHT BACKPACK AND MOUNTAINEERING EQUIPMENT. Imported, Domestic Canoes and Kayaks for day trips, voyageuring, or whitewater. Free catalog. MOOR & MOUNTAIN, Dept. 44, Main St., Concord, Mass. 07142

Records/Tapes

COLLECTOR'S ITEM! Comedy album on Howard Hughes, $5. Double-Shot Records, 6565 Sunset, Hollywood, California 90028.

FREE 200-PAGE CATALOGUE offers over 1,200 fine recordings of Renaissance, Baroque, Classical, Romantic and Modern music. All stereo recordings. Highest quality at budget label prices. Available only by mail from MUSICAL HERITAGE SOCIETY, Box 932NR, New York, NY 10023.

Music

18TH CENTURY FRENCH HARPSICHORD in kit form. We offer an authentic replica of an antique French double manual harpsichord with four registers and buff stop. All parts accurately pre-cut and ready for assembly. Frank Hubbard, 185H Lyman Street, Waltham, Massachusetts 02154

BURTON HARPSICHORDS—Professional instrument in kit form, Burton Jacks (patented) $195.00 to $650.00 Write Herbert W. Burton, 917 "O" Street, Box 80222 (N), Lincoln, Nebraska 68501.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Maryland.

EASY TO PLAY AND MAKE. Quality instruments and kits: Dulcimers ($20 up), Psalteries, Banjos, Thumb Pianos; books, records, HERE, Inc., #N, 410 Cedar Ave., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) . . . . . 60¢
Per word 6 times in one contract year . . . . . 55¢
Per word 12 times in one contract year . . . . 50¢
Per word 24 times in one contract year . . . . 45¢
Per word 48 times in one contract year . . . . 40¢

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance

THE NEW REPUBLIC

1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

53 of the free things you and your family can do during October and November.

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

Every day the price of something seems to go up just a little bit more. So you start cutting down on some of the "luxuries."

Like entertainment for your family.

But some of the most stimulating and rewarding entertainment doesn't cost you a penny.

Because television is still free...

in spite of the fact that certain people are pushing very hard for Pay TV–which would charge you for the kind of programs you now see free. Here's just a sampling of some of the special things you and your family can look forward to during October and November. With no bill to pay at the end of the month.

Rookie of the Year. ABC Afterschool Special–A girl wins a place on an all-boy nine. Wednesday, Oct. 3 (4:30-5:30 pm).

NBC Religious Specials. No Lose; Youth and the Bible Today; Holy Land. Sundays, Oct. 7, 28 (12-12:30 pm); Nov. 18 (5-5:30 pm).

CBS Animated Children's Specials. Robinson Crusoe, Monday, Oct. 8 (4:30-5:30 pm); Kidnapped, Monday, Oct. 22 (4:30-5:30 pm); Swiss Family Robinson, Sunday, Oct. 28 (5-6 pm); Treasure Island, Tuesday, Nov. 6 (4:30-5:30 pm); The Prince and the Pauper, Sunday, Nov. 11 (5-6 pm); 20,000 Leagues Under the Sea, Thursday, Nov. 22 (3:30-4:30 pm); The Three Musketeers, Friday, Nov. 23 (4:30-5:30 pm).

You're Not Elected, Charlie Brown; A Charlie Brown Thanksgiving, Monday, Oct. 15; Tuesday, Nov. 20 (8-8:30 pm).

Dr. Seuss: On the Loose. Monday, Oct. 15 (8:30-9 pm).

ABC News Close-Up. West Virginia: Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Coal. Thursday, Oct. 18 (9-10 pm). Second documentary TBA. Monday, Nov. 26 (8-9 pm).

CBS Children's Film Festival. Tjorven, Batsman and Moses; The Giant Eel; Black Mountain; Countdown to Danger; Stowaway in the Sky–Part I. Saturdays, Oct. 20, Nov. 3, 10, 17, 24 (1-2 pm).

The Long Winter of Henry Aaron. In-depth profile of the baseball star. Sunday, Oct. 21 (10-11pm).

Incredible, Indelible, Magical, Physical, Mystery Trip. ABC Afterschool Special–Animated trip through the human body. Wednesday, Oct. 24 (4:30-5:30 pm).

Return of the Phoenix. Chinese musical fantasy. Saturday, Oct. 27 (1-2 pm).

Piano vs. Orchestra. New York Philharmonic Young People's Concert–Michael Tilson Thomas conducts. Sunday, Oct. 28 (6-7 pm).

Peggy Fleming Visits the Soviet Union. Featuring top Soviet entertainers. Sunday, Oct. 28 (8:30-9:30 pm).

Sunshine. True story of young wife battling terminal illness. With Brenda Vaccaro, Cliff DeYoung. Friday, Nov. 9 (9-11:30 pm).

The Blue Knight. William Holden in stories from Joseph Wambaugh's police novel. Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Nov. 13, 14, 15, 16 (10-11 pm).

Julie Andrews Thanksgiving Special. With guests Perry Como, Muppets. Friday, Nov. 16 (9-10 pm).

The Thanksgiving Treasure. Jason Robards, Mildred Natwick in play about old hatreds. Sunday, Nov. 18 (8-9:30 pm).

Ol' Blue Eyes is Back. Frank Sinatra returns from retirement. Sunday, Nov. 18 (8:30-9:30 pm).

B.C.–The First Thanksgiving. Tale of comic strip caveman. Monday, Nov. 19 (8-8:30 pm).

Dr. Dolittle. Film starring Rex Harrison, Samantha Eggar. Wednesday, Nov. 21 (8-11 pm).

Alice Through the Looking Glass. Lewis Carroll classic starring Agnes Moorehead, Ricardo Montalban, Nanette Fabray, Jimmy Durante, Smothers Brothers. Thursday, Nov. 22 (1:30-3 pm).

My Fair Lady. Academy Award film starring Rex Harrison, Audrey Hepburn, Stanley Holloway. Thursday, Nov. 22 (8-11:15 pm).

H.M.S. Pinafore. Gilbert and Sullivan by D'Oyly Carte. Friday, Nov. 23 (3-4:30 pm).

The World Turned Upside Down. The American Heritage–Washington vs. Cornwallis at Yorktown. Tuesday, Nov. 27 (8-9 pm).

Winnie the Pooh and the Blustery Day. Oscar-winning animated special. Wednesday, Nov. 28 (8-8:30 pm).

Lisa, Bright and Dark. Hallmark Hall of Fame–Drama of young girl slipping into mental illness. Stars Anne Baxter. Wednesday, Nov. 28 (8:30-10 pm).

South to Fire and Ice. Undersea World of Cousteau. Thursday, Nov. 29 (8-9 pm).

Catholics. Brian Moore novel dramatized. Thursday, Nov. 29 (9-10:30 pm).

Santa Claus is Coming to Town. Animated Christmas show. Friday, Nov. 30 (8-9 pm).

Frankenstein: The True Story. Adaptation of Mary Shelley novel with James Mason, Leonard Whiting, Margaret Leighton, Sir Ralph Richardson. Friday, Nov. 30; Saturday, Dec. 1 (9-11 pm).

For Sports Fans:
World Series–First game, Oct. 13.
AFC Football–Sundays.
NFL Football–Sundays.
NBA Basketball–Saturdays.
NCAA College Football–Saturdays.
NFL Monday Night Football–Mondays.

REGULARLY SCHEDULED PROGRAMS

Monday through Friday: Sunrise Semester/CBS Morning News/The Today Show/Captain Kangaroo/Sesame Street/Mister Rogers' Neighborhood/Electric Company

Saturday: In the News/Multiplication-Grammar Rock/Yogi's Gang/Super Friends/Emergency + 4/Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids/GO/CBS Children's Film Festival/ABC Wide World of Sports/Reasoner Report

Sunday: In the News/Multiplication-Grammar Rock/Kid Power/Lamp Unto My Feet/Look Up And Live/ Camera Three/Make A Wish/Face the Nation/Meet the Press/Directions/Issues and Answers/60 Minutes/The Wonderful World of Disney/Masterpiece Theatre.

Note: This is, necessarily, a partial listing. Time (NYT), titles and casts of these national programs are subject to change. Please consult your station listings; check also for noteworthy local programs.

Television Information Office, 745 Fifth Avenue, New York 10022

SEP 24 1973

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED